

The history
OF TVVO THE MOST
noble Capytaynes of the worlde,
Anniball and Scipio, of their dy-
uers battayles and victories, ex-
celynge profitable to reade, gathered
and translated into English oute
of Tims Liuius, and other au-
thoures, by Antony
Cope Esquier.

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THO. Berthelet on this historie.

Who soeuer desireth for to rede
 Marciall proweesse, feates of chivalry
 That may him profite at time of nede
 Let him in hand take this hystorie,
 That sheweth the sleighthes & policy
 The wily traynes of wittie anniball,
 The craftie deccites, ful ofte wherby
 He gaue his puissaunt ennemies a sal.

Of worthy stomacke, and courage ballaunt,
 Of noble herte, and manly enterpryse,
 Of gentelnesse, of mynde sure and constaunt,
 Of gouernaunce prudent, ware, and wise,
 Shal fynde accordyng vnto hys deuise
 This prince Scipio, this mighty Romayne,
 Whych all for pleasure euer dyd dyspysse.
 In continence a lord and soueraygne.

Lo thus may men playnely here behold,
 That wylly witte, power, guyle, nor polycie.
 Could Hannibal euer styl vpholde,
 But that by Scipios worthy chivalrye.
 Hys manhode, vertue, and dedes knyghtly
 He was subdued, there is no more to sayne,
 And yet to speake, as trouthe wyl verisy,
 There was neuer found a better capytayne.



To the most Mighty and victo-
 rious Prince, and his mosse redoubted
 soueraine Lorde, Henrye the. viii. by the
 grace of God kinge of Englande Fraunce and
 Irelande, defender of the faith, and of the
 Church of England and also of Ireland
 in earth the supreme head: hys ryghte
 humble subiect and seruaunt Anto-
 ny Cope, prayeth and wylsheth
 all honoure and perfecte
 felycitie.

What all humayne actes oughte
 to be measured by time, mosse
 excellent prince, and my mosse
 redoubted soueraine lorde, we
 are sufficiently taught by nature, by rea-
 son, by learning, and by experience.

The firste is declared by the ordynate
 course of the beauiens, and the sterres, as
 wel fixed as also the planettes mouable,
 in the same beauiens placed, wyth theyr
 sundry dispositions: by whose diuers ope-
 rations, the earth bringeth forth hir frui-
 tes of all kindes in due season, whyche
 fyrste grow to a rypenesse, and than folo-
 weth the decaye of the same. So that all
 thinges vary accordyng to the time: Now
 pleasant sommer, then withered winter.
 Now plentiful aboundaunce of thinges,
 an other time baraine scarcitye. &c. Rea-
 son

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son also affirmeth the same: in so much that wise Philosophers put, that the generation of one thing is the corruption of an other: and that nothing may longe endure in one state, but eyther encrease, or is empeired. Of learninge we haue auctorities manifold. Amonge others Salomon saith, that all thynges haue time. There is (sayeth he) tyme of peace, and time of warre: time to be merie, and time to be sadde. By experyence also it is manifest, that who so doeth not take time in time, & according therto temper dispose and conueigh all his proceedings, shall no more bringe them to effecte, with prosperous successe, than the songe shalbe allowed, wherof the singers kepe not there true time, but some doo runne awaie therewith, makinge ouermuch hast, while some other dragge cominge slowlye after. The mutabilitie of tyme is so varyable, it passeth alwaie so swiftly, & at length sheweth suche violence that old poetes willing to descriue tyme lively according to the very property thereof, doo set it forth in the figure of a man hauing wynges, wherwith to flygh, and and hauing also a great sith in his hands to

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to moue or cut downe al thynges in theyr appoynted seasons And as it deuoureth and consumeth all thynges by longe processe: euen so it manifesteth all thynges be they neuer so hydden and secrete. Wherefore Ceryne is called the daughter of tyme. He hath also a sister called Occasyon, whome the sayde sage poetes (vnder whose wordes, as vnder a byle are hydden manie depe mysteryes) wyllynge to descriue, doe seine to haue wynges on hir fete to declare therby her swift passyng awaie. And also they feygne hir to haue all hir heare growing & hanging long downe on the fore part of hir heade, the hinder parte being smoth, bare, and balde, signifying therby, that as she cometh toward a man he may take lure hold of hir, by hir long heares: But in case he mysse to take than his hold, suffryng hyr to passe by hym, than is there no holde to be taken of hir behynde, but that she runneth away without recovery. There is also foigned vnto hyr a companion called Repentance, whych is nothing so lichte of foote as is the other, whom occasion after hir escape from a man, leaueyth behynde hir, to kepe hym company.

A. iii. Therby

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Wherby is mente, that if occaſion bee not taken, when ſhee offereth hir ſelfe to anye man: the partie that refuseth hir offer, ſhal after not ceaſe, during his life to forthinke his follye, in ſufferinge by departure. Wherfore ſeems it is apparent that the obeying to time is ſo neceſſarye, whā I behold the manifold iniuries doen to your maieſtee, and to your ſubiectes of this your realme, by your vnnatural and vnkind enemies on ſundry parties, diuers and many waies, which ye haue long ſuffered, and neuertheleſſe dayly they are renewed: it is manifeſt & euident, that your highneſſe is diſturbd to geat by the ſwoorde that, whiche by force is deteyned from you, and with power to reuenge wronges wrought of malice and vntreth, oneleſſe ye ſhould be thought, not to regarde the honoure due to the inperuall maieſtie of ſo highe a prince, where Salomon in his booke entituled Eccleſiaſtes, vpon conſideration (as I ſuppoſe) of ſuche lyke matter as this, ſaith: There is tyme to loue, and tyme to hate, time of peace, and tyme of warre: whiche ſentence the ſayde wyſe man, endued by god wyth ſapience, would neuer haue leſte vnto vs,

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if war had not in ſome caſe ben both laſeful and expedient. Wherfore wel pondering the time of war to be now in hand, as a thinge ſo muche nedefull for many conſideracions, I (for my pooze parte) thought, that I ſhould doe, not onelye to your highneſſe acceptable ſeruiſe, but alſo to all noble men, and gentlemen of the realme greate pleaſure and commoditie, if gathering togyther out of Titus Liuius, and other autours, the hies, the policies, and the marciall actes of two the moſte woorthie Capitaynes, of the two moſte renoumed empires of the worlde, that is to ſaye, of Anniball of Carthage, and Scipio of Rome, I woulde bringe the ſame into our englyſhe tounge: where by, beſide the pleaſaunte beſtowynge of tyme, in the readyng therof, me alſo may learne bothe to dooe dyſpleaſure to theyr enemies, and to auoyde the craftye and dangerous bailes, whiche ſhalbe layde for them. The one of theſe capytains, after manye countreis of Spaine broughte vnder ſubiectiō, to ſeke honoure, and to exerciſe him ſelfe, with his men, in feaſtes of warre, paſſed the terrible mountaynes to enter into Italy through many

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millions freightes and vnknown passages, there beinge and spoiling the country wth continuall warre by the space of. xvi. yeres. During whych time he had many noble victories sleynge many Romaine legions wth their balliaunt capitaines. The other, that is to wete, Scipio the Romaine consull, beinge a man of no lesse courage then his enemy, leauing him wth his power in Italy sayled ouer into Africa, where vanquishynge many friends of the Carthaginenses, at the last brought Carthage to such extremity that the princes therof were dryuen (for theyr onely refuge) to call Anniball home againe to succour them: where in battayle sore foughten, Scipio ouercame Hanniball and all his power, put him to flight & made the empire of Carthage to be vnder tribute to come. The one of these capitaines was crafty, politike, painfull, & hardy, & by subtyll traynes wrought his enemies muche dyspleasure: The other was wyse, chaste, liberall, & ballant: & by his vertuous courage, myred wth temperaunce, rayled by the banner of fame & honoz of rome which before was brought low, and almost to vtter desolacyon. And

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as these notable princes, wth many other men of noble hertes, haue heretofore traauayled, to seeke honourable renowne: euen so, many learned men, wyllynge to aduance them to theyr desyres, haue in wytyng set forth theyr noble acttes, to theyr immortal fame, & to the comfort of all that shal here or rede the same. Yea the printers haue not forgottent nor omitted on their partes, to set forth before mennes eyes, theyr noble acttes, thereby to liere and to enkindle the hertes and myndes of the beholders. For who is he, that doeth not muche reioyce, in beholding Hercules printed on a wal clothed in a Lyons skynne, by his myghty hande spoyled, and drawing after hym Cerberus that hell hounde, wth. iii. hydous heddes, whom he had brought from the dominyon of Pluto? Who doeth not reioyce to heare the conqueste of the golden flicce, by Jason in the Ile of Colchos? Thus it appeareth, that who so doeth vertuously embrace honorable trauaile, deserue to haue immortal fame. Among whych moste victoryous conquerours, although your moste excellente maiestie maye without all controuersye or doubt

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most worthy challenge & take the chiefe place, yet would not I, befoze your maiesties owne face, offer my selfe to be a setter out therof, oneles the expresse veritye of your graces procedinges dyd so manifestly publishe and declare the same, that I maye not by my so doyng possibly encrease any maner suspicion of flattery, or adulation, as by comparinge the noble debtes of the fozenamed great princis, vnto your moste worthy actes, shall appere manifest. Hanniball, by the helpe of the frenchmen, passed the mountaines, & after in Italy fought thre or fower notable battailes, to the greate ruine of the Romaynes: but they were achieved rather by crafty sleighthes and policies, than by strength. In them also he had the assured aide of the frenchemen. The cite of Trent he wanne by treason. Capua, & many other cities, wyllygly yelved vnto him whose assistance after, was muche bys auauancement. On the other part, Scipio arriuing in Affrica, founde there kynge Massanissa bys olde frende, by whose helpe, ballantnesse, and conduite, he preyayled against the Carthaginenses, and subdued king Syphax. These thinges seeme

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med than to men so notable, that among others, my chiefe authour Titus Lilius to auauance the rensuume of theym, wrote thereof a noble and goodly hystorie. But who so beholdeth the conduyte of youre graces warres, in Spayne, Fraunce, Britayne, & Scotland, & in euerie of these moze then ones or twise achieved without the ayde of any foraine prince, the dangerous and strong cities and castelles scaled, the power of Fraunce in one daye ouerthrowen: And aboute the same tyme a like victorie of Scottes inuadyng the realme, with theyr kyng slaine in playne felde: shall synde the triumph thereof muche moze worthy of gloze, than anye that euer Lilius wrote vppon. For it is not vnknown, that thynges now be muche harder to be achieved, than they were in those dayes: the artillarie moze perillous, the armour moze sure, and the castels moze strong: In so muche that the winning of Tirwin or Morlace, is much moze to be esteemed, than the winning of Capua or Carthage. I wil omit to reherse, that the emperoure Maximilian, hearynge the fame of youre hyghnesse power and excellence, desired to be
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moſt woꝛthylſe chalenge & take the chiefe place, yet would not I, befoꝛe your maieſties owne face, offer my ſelfe to be a ſetter out therof, oneles the expreſſe veritye of your graces pꝛocedinges byd ſo manifeſtly publiſhe and declare the ſame, that I maye not by my ſo doyng poſſibly enſurre any maner ſuſpicion of flattery, or adulation, as by comparinge the noble dedes of the fozenamed great pꝛincis, bn to your moſte woꝛthy actes, ſhall appere manifeſt. Hanniball, by the helpe of the frenchmen, paſſed the mountaines, & after in Italy fought thꝛe or ſower notable battailes, to the greate ruine of the Romaynes: but they were achieved rather by crafty ſleightes and policies, than by ſtrength. In them alſo he had the aſſured aide of the frenchemen. The citie of Trent he tooke by treaſon. Capua, & many other cities, wyllygly yelved vnto him whoſe aſſiſtence after, was muche bys auauancement. On the other part, Scipio arriuing in Affrica, founde there kyng Maſſaniſſa bys olde frende, by whoſe helpe, ballantneſſe, and conduſte, he pꝛeuailed againſt the Carthaginenſes, and ſuboued king Syphax. Theſe thinges ſeem

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med than to men ſo notable, that among others, my chiefe authour Titus Lilius to auauance the reſonume of theym, wrote thereof a noble and goodly hiſtoꝛye. But who ſo beholdeth the conduyte of your graces warres, in Spayne, Fraunce, Britayne, & ſcotland, & in euerie of theſe moze then ones or twiſe achieved without the ayde of any foꝛaine pꝛince, the dangerous and ſtrong cities and caſtelles ſcaled, the power of Fraunce in one daye ouerthrowen: And aboute the ſame tyme a like victoꝛye of ſcottes inuadyng the realme, with theyꝛ kyng ſlaine in playne ſpelde: ſhall ſynde the triumph thereof muche moze woꝛthy of gloꝛye, than anye that euer Lilius wrote vppon. Foꝛ it is not vnknown, that thynges nowe bee muche harder to bee atchieued, than they were in thoſe dayes: the artillarye moze perillous, the armour moze ſure, and the caſtels moze ſtrong: In ſo muche that the winning of Tirwin or Moꝛlace, is much moze to bee eſteemed, than the wyng of Capua or Carthage. I wil omit to reherſe, that the emperoure Maximilian, bearynge the ſame of youre hyghneſſe power and excellence, deſired to be
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of your maiestyes band, and vnder youre
baner in the fyeelde agaynst the frenche
men. I wyl also leane to reherse the wise
and worthy conquest of the realme of Ire
lande, where of at this presente youre
maiestey weareth the Diademe. Neyther
will I tary to declare the sundry and most
lucky victories, that your hyghnes hath
of late had agaynst the promise breakers
the double dealinge Scottes. Further
more, partly for breuitie, and partly for
that the thyng beyng so lately doen, ney
ther the brute nor the memoire thereof
cannot but be so fresh, that it were much
superfluous here now to recite the same;
I haue thought best wholly to omitte the
long recital of your late moste noble, po
litike, and myghty conquest of Gallayne
never heretofore by any prince subdued,
nor leaue by anye approached vnto, but
left as a thinge inuincible, and therefore
called the mayden towne, the hystoie
whereof requireth the lengthe of a longe
volume, if it shal be fully cronicle. But
sens of al others that euer were, Hercu
les is accounted moste woorthy the
croune of honorable prayse, as the chiefe
daunter of monsters: I wyl now
wyth

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wyth his conquestes compare your moste
famous subduyng of the Romaine mon
ster Hydra, whose heddes were so many,
and the less of theim so pestilente: that it
is to be thought, he could neuer (without
the greate assistance of the diuine power)
haue been subdued. Those his heddes,
by the moste circumspecte wysdomis and
prouidence of your hyghnes, be almoste
cleane cutte of, and mortified, the veno
mous styng of ignorance plucked away,
and his power suppressed: so that the wal
les of his denne of Rome tremble be
holdyng your cristial shelde of prudence,
whiche conqueste I maye well call so
much more worthy of renoume, than
those of Hercules, by how much the soule
of man is to be esteemed aboue the bodye,
or anye earthlye gooddes. Hercules
onely deliuered countreys, from the bo
dily veracion of monsters and tyrantes:
your maiestie doeth ease youre subiectes
both in body and gooddes, but chiefly in
theyr soules, by the true knowlage of
god & his moste holie worde. So that in
my herte I wythe Linus to bee on lyue
again, not doubtyng but he that toke
such peine to describe the actes of your in
feriours,

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Herours, Hanniball and scipio, woulde much moze now trauaile, to blowe forth the your mightye magnificence and vertuous enterprises with the loude trumpet of immortall fame and memory. Further moze the actes of Hercules be mosse sette forth by poetes, who (as it is thoughte) haue feined many thinges moze than the trueth was: but of your highnes actes, that are our englishe Hercules, no man doth or can doubt, they are so well known, euen of your enemyes to their paynes. Wherefore I trust, when tyme shall come, god wyl not faile to prouide an excellent cronicler, to set forth the most glorious actes of your royall maiestye, that are his very true championrewardynge your worldly conquestes here, with perpetual renoume and gloze, and after this life (which almighty god graunt for oure benefite, to be very long) remuneratinge your graces godly minde, intent, and trauailes in his causes, with the incorruptible crowne of immortalytie and felicitye eternall bothe of soule and bodye.

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The description of Anniball, and
of hys fyrst exercise in war. ca. 1
Of Annibals fyrst warres and
victory. Ca. 2

Annibal belegeth the Saguntines,
and how he was there sore
wounded. ca. 3

The comynge of the Romaine ambassadours to
Anniball and Carthage, and what answer they
had of hym and them. Cap. 4.

How sagunt was cruelly conquered. Cap. 5

How the Romain ambassadours sent to Car-
thage, and from thence into Spaine sped. cap. 6

How Annibal renewing the war conducted his
army into France, to passe the mountains. ca. 7

Howe Anniball passed the river of Rhodanus,
put the frenchmen to flight, refused to fight with
the consull of Rome, & with what wordes he cou-
raged his souldiours to passe the mountains. ca. 8

How and with what labour, peine, & exceedynge
great daungier, Annibal & his armye passed ouer
the high mountains & Alpes into Italy. cap. 9.

How bothe the armies of Rome and Carthage
approched, & the oration that. P. C. Scipio the
consul made to encourage his men to fight. cap. 10

With what examples and wordes Annibal ex-
horted hys souldiours to fight valiantly. ca. 11

How Scipio and Annibal met by chaunce, and
fought together, and how the consul was hurte,
and Annibal victour. Cap. 12.

Howe Annibal fought with Sempromius the
consul: and by what meanes he put the Romaines
to flight. Cap. 13.

Annibal intendynge to take a certaine castel by
stealth, was encountred by the counsil, wounded,
and put to the worse, and after a great slaughter

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of the people he wonne **Vicunias**. And howe
Cn. Scipio in **Spainne** ouerthrewe **Hanno** in
 battayle. Cap. 14.

Howe **Anibal** pailed y daungerous fennes nere to
 the ryuer of **Arnus**, to the great losse of his men
 and cattell, where the fenny aiee caused hym to
 lose one of hys eyes. And of the hast that **Flami-**
nus the consul maketh to geue him bataile. ca. 15

Of the battayle of **Trasimenus**, with the death
 of the counsell **Flaminius**, and many other Ro-
 maynes. Cap. 16

Howe **Annibal** by a crafty decepte escaped the
 straites of **Formiana**, wherein he was enclosed
 by **M. Fabius Maximus**. Cap. 17

Cneius Scipio fyghteth with **Hasturbal** and
Himilco, on the sea vpon the costes of **spaine** dry-
 ueth them to lande, taketh and dystroyeth. xxv.
 shippes, with a greate number of the **Carthagi-**
nenes. cap. 18.

Howe **Accedur**, a Spanyarde, by treason conueyed
 the pledges of **spayne** from the **Carthaginenses**,
 and deliuered them to the **Romans**. Cap. 19

Fabius beyng at **Rome** in dyspleasure, **Minu-**
tius maister of the horsemen fighteth with **An-**
nibal, putteth hym to the worse, and therefore is
 made halfe rular of the hoste with **Fabius**, he
 fyghteth with hym agayne, and is put to flighte,
 and rescued by **Fabius**. Cap. 20

Of **Lucius Aemilius Paulus**, and **C. Ceren-**
tius Varro consuls, and the oracion of **M. Fa-**
bius Maximus to **Paulus**, befoze hys departing
 from **Rome** toward hys hoste. Cap. 21

Of the perillous battayle of **Cannas**, and the
 victorpe that **Annibal** hadde there of the Ro-
 maynes. cap. 22

Howe **Annibal** ordered his busines after the bat-
 tayle

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Table, and howe younge **Scipio** vled hym selfe for
 the sauing of the commen welth. Ca. 23.

The oracion of the captiue prysoners made to
 the senate for theyr redemption. Cap. 24.

The fore answer of **C. Manlius Torquatus**
 to the captiues oracion, wherein he dyswadeth
 theyr redemption. Cap. 25

Howe **Hacuius** by craft became chiefe rular
 of **Capua**, and of the yeldynge of that Citie to
Annyball. cap. 26

The newes that **Mago** brought to **Carthage**
 of **Annibals** victorpes in **Italy**, and the oracion
 of **Hanno** a senatour of **Carthage** made vnto the
 same. Ca. 27.

Of the battaille betwene **Marcellus** and **An-**
nibal befoze the citie of **Nola**, and of **Annibals**
 wintering in **Capua**, in delicate pleasures, where
 by he withdrew the hertes and courages of hys
 men from all war rehyke facyon. Ca. 28

Of the long siege and wypping of **Castellum**
 with the deathe and destruction of the counsell
Posthumius & hys hoste in the wood of **Litana**
 by the craft of the **Frenchmen**. Cap. 29.

Of the victorpe of the **Scipions** in **spayne**. ca. 30
 The oracion of the **samnites** and the **Hirpines**
 to **Annibal**, desyryng his helpe agaynst the Ro-
 maines, with the order of **Marcellus** and **Anni-**
bal aboute **Nola**. cap. 31

The exhortation of **Annibal** to his souldiours
 the battayle betwene hym and **Marcellus**, and
 the victorpes of the **Scipios** in **spaine**. Cap. 32

The oracion of **Quintus Fabius Maximus**,
 touchyng the election of the consuls in that daun-
 gerous season. Cap. 33.

The battayle betwene **Hanno** and **Gracchus**,
 wyth the reward and also the punishment awar-
 ded

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by Gracchus to certayne bondemen of hys hoste.

The cities of Sagunt in spaine, and Arpos in Italy are wonne by the Romaynes, kynge Spaxar is become frende to the Romayns, and is overcome in battayle by Massanissa.

Annibal through the treason of Nico and Philomenes, winneth the cite of Tarent.

Fulvius Flaccus the Romaine consul, wynneth the campe of Hanno, sleeth & taketh a great number of men wyth a ryche praye. Mago sleeth Titus Gracchus, and many Romaines, through the treason of Flavius a Lucan.

Centenius Penula, and Cneius Fulvius, with theyr two armyes be discomfited and slaine by Annibal in several battayles.

The cite of Capua is besieged by the two consuls, Annibal commeth to the succour of the citizens, giveth the consuls battayle, from thence goeth to Romeward with his hoste, to the intent thereby to drawe the consuls from the syege of Capua.

The oracio of Virginius Virginius concerning the reliving of Capua, the Romaines receyue the towne, slea the senators, & convert the grounde thereof to the profite of the city of Rome.

Marcellus winneth the cite of Syracusa in Sicilia. P. Scipio & Cneius Scipio are slaine in spayne, with a great number of Romaines.

L. marcius is chosen capitaine of the Romaine armye, he maketh an oracion to his souldiours, & in one night and a day vanquisheth two hostes of the Carthaginenses, winneth theyr campes, and a greates praye.

How Asdrubal beyng enclosed in the straites beynde Mentissa escaped the daunger thereof

The table.

of by mockynge hys ennemyes : and of the chosynge of yonge P. Cor. Scipio to be capitaine in Spayne.

The oracion of Scipio to his souldiours in spaine after his coming thither.

The city of newe Carthage in spayne is wonne by the Romans, with a great pray of golde, siluer and all other necessities for the warre, with the pledges of the noble men & cities of Spaine.

Of the gentlenesse of Scipio in restoring a faire yong virgin vnderfyled to Luccius, unto whom he was fianced.

Annibal sleeth Cn. Fulvius, wyth. viii. M. Romayns beside Herdonea, Marcellus the consull chaseth Annibal through Apulia, makynge many flyngmythes wyth him.

Marcellus geueth battaile to Annibal, in which his men be put to flyght, whereupon he maketh them a sharpe oracion, he reneweth the battayle on the morrowe, putteth Annibal and his hoste to flyght, wyth losse of many of his men.

Howe M. Fabius Maximus recovered from Annibal the cite Tarent.

Scipio fyghteth with Asdrubal beynde Metula driveth him from his hyll, sleeth. viii. M. of hys hoste, taketh xii. M. prysoners, wyth Massus newe to Massanissa, and a great praye in the campe.

Marcellus the consull is slayne by an embusment layd by annibal, Crispinus the other consull, and Marcellus sonne be sore hurt.

Annibal craftely sendeth letters to Salapia, sealed with Marcellus sygnet, asdrubal passeth the mountaynes with his army to mete his brother annibal.

Of the great battayle betwene asdrubal and

The table.

the consules, in whiche asdruball was slayne,
wyth. lvi. M. men, besyde manye that were ta-
ken, wyth a great spople. cap. 53.

Scipio in dyuers battayles discomfitteth the
Carthaginenses, taketh Hanno on lyue, driueth
asdrubal and Mago wyth al theyr power, clean
out of spayne. cap. 54.

M. Liuius, and C. Nero the consules, entre
the cite of Rome in triumph. A prayse of anni-
bals gouerning his armie. cap. 55.

Scipio and asdruball arryue both in one daye
in affrica, and be lodged both together in the pa-
lays of kyng Syphax. cap. 56.

Hassanissa speaketh secretly wyth scipio, and
entreteth in leage wyth the Romans: Mago say-
eth into Italy to ioyne with annibal. cap. 57.

Scipio cometh to Rome, and is create one of
the consuls, he despyeth to haue lycence, to sayle
into affrica wyth an armie. cap. 58.

The oration of Fabius dissuadynge Scipio
from saylyng into affrica, and willyng hym to de-
fende Italye agaynst annibal. cap. 59.

The oracion of scipio, wherin he aunswereth
to Fabius. cap. 60.

The complaynte of the Locrenses to the sena-
tors, of the cruell gouernaunce of Qu. Plami-
nius. cap. 61.

Kyng syphax maryeth asdruballes daughter
he sayeth to scipio, willyng hym not to warre
in affrica, scipio arryueh in affrica, to whom co-
meth Hassanissa. cap. 62.

Scipio in the nyghte burneth his ennemyes
campes, putteth syphax and asdruball to flyghte,
wyth great losse of theyr men. cap. 63.

Syphax rencoweth the battayle, where he is
taken prysoner, Hassanissa taketh the cite of
Cytha

The table.

Cytha, and marieth kyng syphax wyse. ca. 64.
Syphax is brought to scipio, Hassanissa sen-
deth to sophonisba prysen, whiche she wythout
feare dryaketh. cap. 65.

Helyus wyth kyng syphax, and other prys-
ners cometh to Rome, Hassanissa is made king
of Numidia. cap. 66.

Mago is discomfited, and wounded, of whiche
wounde he dyeth. Annibal beyng commanded
of the senate to leaue Italye, sayleth towarde
Carthage, makynge great dole for his departynge
cap. 67.

Annibal arryueh in affrica, despyeth to speake
wyth scipio, who graunteth hym, and they mete
together at a place appoynted. cap. 68.

The swittye oracion that annibal made to sci-
pio, before the battayle betwene them. cap. 69.

The aunswere of scipio to anniballes oracion,
wyth the battayle had betwene theym, wherein
annibal was vanquished and put to flyght. cap. 70.

The condicions of peace graunted to the Car-
thaginenses by scipio, and the ratyfenge of the
same by the senate. cap. 71.

Scipio returneth to Rome with greate tri-
umphe and ioye of all the people. cap. 72.

Annibal flyeth to antiochus kyng of siria,
antiochus mouch warre to the Romans. L.
Cornelius scipio sayleth into asia, and vanquy-
sheth hym, graunteth hym peace vpon conditi-
ons and retourneth to Rome. cap. 73.

Annibal flyeth to Prusias, the kinge of Bi-
thinia, and howe he ended his life. cap. 74.

Thus endeth the Table.

THE DESCRIPTION
of Hanniball, and of his fyrste
exercise in warre.

Cap. 1.



After many greate and
perillous battayles fought
betweene the Romaynes,
and the Carthaginenses,
at the laste a peace was
taken for certayne yeares : during which
time, Amilcar than capitayne of the ar-
mye of Carthage, warred siue yerres con-
tinuallye in Africa, wyth the cityes and
countreys adioyning to Carthage. And
from thens he passed the sea with his ar-
mye into Spaine: where he abode. ix. yea-
res, in whiche time he meruailously in-
creased & enlarged the dominion of Car-
thage. This Amilcar was father to Han-
nibal, whych at his sayling into Spaine,
was but. ix. yeares of age: but yet his
heart and courage was suche, that he ne-
uer ceassed, til he had with sayre and plea-
saunt wordes optayned licence of his fa-
ther, to go wyth him into Spayne. And
at his departing on a solemne day whan
his father did sacrifice in the temple, ac-

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according

17. JY 60

ording to the vse and ceremonie then vsed, yonge Hanniball bringe there present, laying his handes on the holie altare of the Temple, swore and avowed, that from thens forth he would become a deadly enemye to the Romaynes, and that he would utter the same his malice on them, as soone as he were able. This othe and vow pleased well his father Amilcar. For his intent was shortly after to moue the Carthaginēses to warre wyth the Romaynes, but he dyed soone after: whose death, wyth the tender age of his sonne Hanniball, stayed that enterpryse, and caused the peace to endure betwene them. viii. yeares longer. Duringe whychs time, one Asdruball, that married the daughter of Amilcar, gouerned the army, a man of great wysedome and pollicie. For he by his gentle enterprynge of princes, and frendly handlinge of his neyghbours, more than by battayle, brought many cities vnder the obedience of Carthage. Whose faction in the getting of frendes, whan the Romaynes perceyued, they sente vnto him: and renewing theyr olde amitie, entred into a newe leage, for the more sure and stable

ble conseruacion whereof, they determined to set meetes and boundes of bothe theyr empires. Wherefore they agreed, that the riuer of Iberus shoulde departe their two seignories. Further, that the Saguntines (a people that dwelled betwene both their dominions, and were then in amitie and league with the Romaynes) should continue in peace, & be at libertie, not troubled nor oppressed by warre of nother party. This peace being concluded, Asdruball that hartily loued Hanniball, sente his letters, and for his sake, caused the counsell of Carthage to be moued, to licence Hanniball, beyng then a freshe yonge man, to exercise hym selfe in warre, to the intent, whē he were of lawefull age, he might obtayne bothe the rule and riches, that were his fathers. Whereunto the moste parte of the Senators agreed. Whereupon Hanniball was incontinente sente into Spayne, to be capitayne there vnder Asdruball. At his first coming he gate the fauour of all his army, & so resembled his father in all pointes, that the old souldiours supposed Amilcar that was dead, to be restored again to them aliue. And in short space he brought

The warres betwene the
to passe, that his father was not to be com-
pared vnto him, in winning the heartes
of people. He excelled in wysedome, po-
licie, and feates of warre, that when the
Capitayne woulde haue anye weyghtye
matter enterprised, he woulde to him a-
boue al other commit the charge thereof.
He so ordred him selfe, bothe in obeyinge
his capitaine, and ruling his souldiours,
that it was hard to knowe, whether he
was better beloued of his capitaine, or of
his hoste. He was of an hyghe courage
in leoparding on any perill, & of no lesse
counsayle in auoyding the same. His bo-
dy and minde coulde wyth no labour be
weryed or ouercome: he coulde as well su-
staine heate as colde: of meates and drin-
kes he vsed none excessse, but that woulde
suffice nature: he prescribed no time to
reste or slepe by nighte nor by daye. And
when he might from businesse conueni-
ently rest, he desired neyther softe beddes
nor quiete sleepes, but being couered with
a shorte cloke or souldiours garment, he
would repose him vpon the hard earth.
He was not curious in garmentes: In
pleasant horses and sure armour was al-
wayes his delite. Amonge all the armye
on

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 3

on horse back and on foote he was founde
the best, he wold be euer the first and the
last in battaile: whiche his noble vertues
lacked not diuers vices to accompanye
them. For in steede of mercy and pitie, he
vsed extreame crueltie, mixte with vn-
saythesfulness, he regarded not the obser-
uing of his othe, whych was to his great
dishonour.

Of Hannibals fyrst warres
and victory. Cap. ii.

Vhan this yonge capitayne had
thus exercised him selfe vnder
Asdrubal the space of. iii. yeres,
it chaunced, that one of that
countrey (whose mayster Asdrubal before
had slayne) sodenlye ranne on him, and
slew him. Whereupon beyng taken, he
neyther chaunged countenance nor fea-
red any punishment that shoulde come to
him therfore: but with smilinge counte-
nance receyued his death. When the
souldiours of the armye, after the losse of
Asdrubal, immediatlye by one consente
chose Hanniball to be theyr gouernour.
And he, appoyntinge to warre agaynst
the Romaynes, and Italy to be his pro-
uince

The warres betwene the
since, thought he would not long stay or
tracte the time in ouermuch deliberating
thereon; least thereby it myghte chaunce
vnto him, as it did vnto his father and
Asoruball, to be oppressed by some other
mischaunce, intended to moue warre to
the Saguntines before rehearsed. And to
colour his intent, he firste led his armye
into the coastes of Olcades, a people of
Spayne, beyonde the ryuer of Iberus,
neighbour to the Saguntines, to thend
it should seme, that he of purpose or by a
nye pretence of warre dyd not seke to in-
uade the Saguntines, but wyninge the
countreies adioyning together, he should
also take Sagunt wyth him, as it laye in
his waye in order wyth the other.

Among these he wanne the citee called
Carteia, that was very ryche, whych ci-
tie beinge subdued, the small towne ad-
iacent willingly submitted theym selues
to be vnder tribute. This done, he, for
the winter time, withdrew his army to
a citee in Spayne, called newe Carthage
And with distributing largely to his sol-
diours the praye before gotten, and well
payenge of euery mans wages that was
behinde, he wonne the heartes of all the
hoste

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 4
hoste. So that they wholye agreed the
neste sommer folowynge to warre vpon
the Macceis. Whych warres brought to
passe, and ended, as they retourned, not
farre from the ryuer of Tagus, the bani-
shed people of the countreys aforesayde,
assembled together, and raysed the Car-
petanes, by whose helpe they were to the
numbre of a hundred thousande, and tru-
stynge to theyr greate multitude, came
newlie vpon the Carthaginenses. Anni-
ball perceyvinge that great power com-
ming vpon him, abstained from battaile,
and priuely in the nyghte conueyed his
army ouer a fowd, and from thence with
drew his people a good space of: so that
his enemies mighte haue place to come
ouer the ryuer. Then set he. xl. elephan-
tes along the riuer side, that they myght
be redy to oppresse them at the entring of
the water. Also, he commaunded his horse-
men, that as soone as the footemen were
entred the water, they should fiercely as-
saille theym. The Carpetanes with the
Macceis and Carteians, thinkinge theyr
enemies for feare to be fled from them,
and intending to pursue them, without
anye foresyghte or order, wyth all speede,
making

The warres betwene the
making great clamour, euery man rather
ly toke his next waie through the water.
Hannibals horsemen perceiuinge y they
were entred the fourde, violently ran on
them, and wyth litell payne ouerthrewe
a great number of theyr footemen in the
water, whych thyng was easy to doe, for
a footema in the strength of the streame
coude in no wyse susteyne the force of a
horseman, onely the rushe of the horse
thoughe the ryder be vnarmed, is able to
ouerthrowe any footeman: so feble is the
stape of his foote in the water. Thus
some were drowned, and some other that
passed ouer the ryuer, were oppressed,
wyth the Elephantes, so that in shorte
space they were all vtterlye discomfited
and overcome. For before that those
whych last entered the riuer (though they
escaped the daunger of the horsemen)
could recule backe agayne to lande, and
assemble together, and set theym selfe in
arraye, Anniball with a freshe bande of
men entred the water, and so quickly fol-
lowed and chased the, that fewe escaped.
Wherupon shortly after he conquered
all the Carpetanes, & broughte them vn-
der subiection of Carthage. And then all
the

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses.
the borders beyond the water Iberus,
wholy became tributaries to Carthage,
sauing onely the Saguntines, with who
as then they had not medled, but dyuers
quarrelles were picked by theyr neigh-
bours, to get some occasion to warre a-
gaynst them. And that perceyued wel the
Saguntines. Wherfore to preuent the
matter, they sente messangers to Rome,
to require succoures in the warres, that
they vndoubtedly looked for.

Anniball besiegeth the Saguntines, and
howe he was sore wounded. Cap. iii.

The same yere that the ambassa-
dours were sent to Rome, Pub-
lius Cornelius Scipio, and
Titus Sempronius Longus
were consuls, and wher this matter was
wayed in the Senate house, with manye
other, concerninge the common wealth,
Publius Valerius Flaccus, and Quin-
tus Fabius Pampilius, were chosen
ambassadors to go to Anniball, wyth
gentle perswasions to wythdrawe hym
from warres with the Saguntines their
frendes: whych if they could not do, that
then

The warres betwene the
the & they should go to Carthage to Hasi-
druball the capytayne, chargyng him by-
pon payne of the truce breakyng, to cesse
and take by the warres.

¶ Whiles the Romaines prepared theyr
legacies, and ordered theyr affayres, An-
niball for slowynge no tyme conue-
nent to his busynes, with his army spy-
lynge and waynyng the countrey, appro-
ched and fiercely assayled the citee of Sa-
gunt on thre partes. This citee was na-
med the rycheeste that was beyond the ri-
uer of Iberus: It stode not passynge a
myle from the sea, and was in short space
so myghtylly increased by reason of the
commodities of the water, the fruytes
of the lande, and multitude of the people,
that they excelled all the cities and coun-
treies aboute them bothe in number and
rycheeste. ¶ When Anniball hadde circum-
spectly viewed the walles, he founde a
corner, from the whyche dydde extende
a fayre playne valeys, vnto the whyche
corner he layd his syege, reisyng by cer-
tayne engyns of defence, for the safe
garde of his people, till they myghte ap-
proche the walles, and carryng other in-
gyns to geue assaule and to beate downe
the

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 6
the walles. But because the fayre playne
wythoute that corner, made that syde to
bee in moste ieopardye: the Citesyns
therfore had buylded the walles on that
parte hygher than the other sydes.
¶ There was also buylded at that corner a
mighty highe towre, the strength wherof
letted Anniball to laye his siege to the
towne as he wolde haue done: Notwith-
standynge he by reason of his engyns,
gaue so sharpe assaule, that the citesyns
beinge vpon the walles were greatly a-
bashed, who at the same assaule, not
only defended their walles manfully, but
also couragiously issued out of the towne
and assailed their ennemyes, and bysa-
kyng downe their munimentes & fortifi-
cations, entred the towne againe wel nere
to as greate losse of their ennemyes as of
their owne preple. ¶ Whiche thing when
Annibal perceiued, he so sodaynely wyth-
out aduiseiment approached to the walles,
and was stryken wyth a barbed sauelyn
in the thyghe, so that sore wounded he
fell to the grounde. ¶ When his people
sawe hym fall there was suche feare and
clamoure amonge them, that they cleane
gane ouer the assaut, so that they suffered
the

The warres betwene the
the towne to be in rest: tyl they capitaine
was healed. Durynge whiche time of rest
from battayle, the citisens were not occupied.
For they fortifyed them selfe
the more stronglye, for that they percey-
ued the assautes to come shoulde be more
fierce and perillous. When Hanniball
was cured of hys wounde, the siege and
warre became more deadly and terryble
than before. The Carthaginens daylye
increased, they were to the nymbre of
Cl. M. who with theyr ingins bet downe
the walles of Sagunt to the grounde in
dyuers partes: so that they semed sundry
tymes to haue wonne the citee: but they
within, where the walles lacked, wyth
strength of men defended it. And thus
sometyme hope, and sometyme dyspayre
enforced both parts to do theyr uttermost

The comynge of the Romayne ambassa-
dours to Hanniball and Carthage, and what
answers were they had of hym and them
Capit. xiii.



In the meane season of thys long
continued warre, very doubtful
and varyable on bothe partes,
woorde

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses.

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woorde came to Hanniball, that the Ro-
maine Legates were come: Unto whom
he sent a messenger, to shewe them, that
there was leopardy in passinge throughte
so perillous and doubtfull battayles of
strange and wyldc nations: And hym
selfe was so intricate with businesse, that
he could not attend to speake with them,
as to here their legacye. The ambassa-
dours heringe this answer, departed to-
wardes Carthage, as they were com-
maunded. Which thinge Hannibal per-
ceyuinge, sente letters to the senate and
princes of Carthage, that were his fren-
des, wyllynge theim so to induce the peo-
ple, that they shuld in no wyse shewe fa-
uour to the Romaines. So that it came
to passe, that as they coulde not be recey-
ued of Hanniball, euen so their ambas-
sage was voyde at Carthage. For when
Hanno, a man of greate authoritee, had
opened in the senate, the peril and leopar-
die of the truce breakynge, and the ven-
geance whiche mighte folowe bypon the
same: and perswaded, that it shuld be ne-
cessary, that Hanniball shoulde be yelded,
to the Romaynes, for amendes of the
truce breakynge: His oracion beinge fini-
shed

shed, the hole senate, more inclininge to the vniuste enterpryse of Hanniball than to any reasonable perswasion to the contrarye, esteemed hym to haue spoken more vnfrendly than the legates of Rome. Whereupon they answered the ambassadours, that Hanniball had done nothing but iustlye, and that the Romaynes dyd wrong in taking parte with the Saguntines against them of Carthage, beyng theyr olde frendes. And thus whyles the Romaines sente theyr ambassadours two and fro, Hanniball ceased not, but whan his weary souldiours releued them selves of their peines and trauayle, to encourage his men against his ennemys, sometime with hope of victorie, sometime wyth hope of the ryche praye: so that they were in suche wyse encouraged and stirred, that they thoughte nothinge able to resyste them. And contrarywyse the Saguntines were no lesse carefull and diligent to repaire their broken walles, and to prouide thinges to make resistance. Hanniball, who neuer ceased, but being still occupied with inuencion of subtyltye and craft, commaunded a high towre of timber so to be made, that it myghte bee

remo-

remoued to euerye parte of the walles at his pleasure. Whiche whan it was finished, he furnished wyth crossebowes & other ordynance, wherewyth he bette the defenders from the walles. Whan incontinent he sent. v. C. Affricans, with pike-ares and instruments to vndermyne and breake downe the walles, whiche was verie easye to brynge to passe wyth suche tooles. The walles were of the olde rude makynge, not layde with lime & sand, but wyth claye and blacke morter. Wherefore they had soone ouerthrowen a great parte of the walles, at which breach the Carthaginenses entred, and came to a hygh place of the citee, whych they garnished with all kyndes of ordynances, and made a wal about the same, making it as a castell or fortreffe for them within the citee. Notwithstanding the Saguntines, with as greate shyfte as myghte be, made countermures in the towne, and defended them selfe: and saved those partes that were not gotten as it mighte be. But in shorte space they were so beaten, that they wyll not where to defend. Thus the Saguntynes defendynge the inward partes of theyr towne, loste

dayly

daylye more and more of their citee. Capitayles also fayled them sore, by reason of the longe siege. Agayne, the expectacyon of theyr succours was in vaine. Because the Romanes, theyr onely hope, were so farre off. Notwithstanding they were a litle comforted, by reason that Annibal was so sodaynly sent for to go against the Oretanes and Carpetanes, whych than were rayled agayne, and began to rebel, but their warre in the meane tyme seemed nothinge the lesse, by reason of one Maharball, Minilcos sonne, who kepte the siege so streightlye, that it seemed the capitaine was not absent.

¶ When Annibal was returned from the Carpetanes and Oretanes warre, the battayle beganne more strongly than before. Durynge whiche time, two souldiours, one named Alcon a Saguntine, and the other called Alorcus a Spaniard hauinge some hope of peace, determyned to moue Annibal to the same. Alcon the Saguntine was brought before Annibal who asked vnto him, what they should do, if they intended to haue peace. Which condicions of peace seemed vnto Alcon verye vnrasonable. Wherefore thin-

kyng

¶ Kyngs that the Saguntines would in no case agree vnto the same: he remayned there still, and would not retourn againe to his citee, affirming, that he were worthy to dye, that vnder such couenauntes would treat of peace. ¶ When Alcon had denied that the Saguntines would receyue any such truce. Alorcus aforesayd, beinge a souldiour of Annibals, and an olde frende to the Saguntines, supposing that theyr mindes might be perswaded to receyue the condicions of peace, seeinge theyr walles so weake, and theyr towne so easie to be wonne, promised to declare vnto theym the contentes of the truce. He deliueringe his weapon to the capitaynes of theyr enemies, was brought to the Pretor Saguntine: and so into the Senate, where, whē the multitude of the commons was a litle withdrawn, thus he began his oracion.

¶ If your citiein and messenger Alcon, that came to Annibal to requyre peace, had likewise brought from him vnto you the condicions of the same, my cominge hither had bene in vayne. Which thing, if he had done, I should neither as Annibals orator, nor as a fugitiue, haue come

C. 4.

vnto

The warres betwene the
vnto you at this time. But seinge that he
eether through his owne defaulte, or els
by yours, taryeth wyth your ennemyes
(lest you should be ignoraunt, that there
are certayne condicions offered bothe of
peace and safegarde) I for the olde frend-
shipp and hospitalitie, that hath bene be-
twene vs, am come to you: and sythe, I
would ye shoulde perswade your selues,
that for your wealtbe, and none other
cause, I speake to you those wordes, whi-
che I will declare, and this you may well
perceyue. For as long as you were able
with your owne power, to make resy-
stence, or trusted to haue succoure from
the Romaynes, I neuer made mention
to you of peace. Nowe seinge there is no
hope of succour from the Romaynes, and
your owne strength and walles do faile
you, being vnable any longer to resyst: I
bring to you peace more necessarye than
ryghteous or iuste. Of the whiche peace
there is yet some hope, if, as Annibal be-
yinge conquerour, doth sende it, so you as
people subdued will receyue it. For you
must consider, that you being conquered,
must of the conquerour receiue that whi-
che of his goodnes he will geue you as a
reward

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reward. The condicions of peace are
these: He wyll take the citee (whych he
hath broken for the mosse parte, and al-
mosse wonne) from you. He will leaue to
you the felde, and also assigne a place,
where you shall brylde a newe citee. He
commaundeth also your gold, siluer, and
other goodes, publike and pruate, to be
brought to him. He is contented to suffer
your selues, your wyues and chyldren, to
passe in safegarde, if ye go out of the ci-
tee vnarmed, takinge wyth you onelye
double apparell for your bodies. Those
things youre victorious enemye Anni-
bal doth commaund you, the whych your
sorrowful chaunce and fortune doth per-
swade you to accepte. Trulye I doubte
not, when ye haue accomplished all these
his requestes, but that some of these con-
ditions shalbe remitted vnto you. I thinke
better, you should rather suffer these in-
juries, than your selues to be slaine, your
wyues and chyldren taken and violently
bode always before your faces, by the ex-
treme labours of warre.

Howe Sagunt was cruelly con-
quered. Capi. v.

C. ii. T. han

The warren betweene the

Vathan Alozcus had ended his oration, the chiefe rulers of the citie departed sodaynelye from the reste of the multitude, and gathered all their golde and siluer from the publike and priuate places, into the market place: and before anye answer was geuen vnto Alozcus touchinge his message, they caste it all into a fyre, the which was quickly made for the same purpose, and many cast them selfe headlong after Vathan the feare, the trembling, and the quakinge for this busynesse hadde passed throughe the citie, another rumour was afterwarde hearde. A towre of the citie that had long time be brused and shaken fell downe to the earth: at whiche place company of the Carthaginenses entred Anniball in such a chaunte thinking no more long to deliberate, wyth great violence entred the towne, and incontynent commaunded that all the youth should be slayne: a cruell victorie, notwithstanding it was known in that case almost necessary. For whiche of those should be spared, that eyther beinge inclosed wyth their wyues and children, burned their houses ouer them; or els beinge well ar-

med

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses.

11

med, would determine no end of this warre but by death: The citie was taken wyth a great praye: of the which muche goodly household stuffe was sente to Carthage. Some write, the viii. moneth that the warre began, the citie was wonne, and that Anniball for the winter, retourned againe to new Carthage. During which time the ambassadours that wet to Carthage, brought worde to Rome, that the Saguntines were overcome and destroyed, and their citie taken: At whiche tidings hearde and known for trouth, brought such heuines and sorowe together to the Romaynes, what for pitie of their frendes in worthily losse, and for shame that they had not succoured them in due time, that thereby they conceived as great displeasure towarde the Carthaginenses, and also feare of losse of theyr owne countrey and goods, as though the whole power of theyr enemies had bene presented at hande. Thus beinge troubled at one time with dyuers motions of the minde, they seemed rather to quake and tremble than to take counsaile: and good cause whye. For there neuer warred agaynst them a more cruell enemye, nor more be-

C.iii.

hement.

The warres betwene the
hementlye geuen to all kindes of warre,
neither their citesins neuer so sluggish
and vnmete to warfare as then. When
they had longe bewayled this sorrowfull
chaunce, they prepared all thinges as
mete & necessarye for the warres as they
could. Some were sent into Fraunce,
some into Affrica, and likewise into all
other places, where they had warres.

Howe the Romayne ambassadours sent
to Carthage, and from thence into
Spayne, spedde. Cap. vi.

AL the foresayd businesse prepa-
red & set in good order, Quin-
tus Fabius, Marcus Livius,
Lucius Aemilius, Caius Lu-
cinius, & Quintus Vebius were sent in-
to Affrica, to enquire of the Carthaginie-
les, whether Hanniball destroyed the ci-
ty of Sagunt, by the assent of the publike
counsaille or no. And if they would graunt
& defende, that it was done by the whole
counsaille, then to declare vnto them, that
they woulde reuenge theyr wronges in
battayle. After the Romayns were come
to Carthage, and that Quintus Fabius
had in the senate enquired of the Sena-
tours

Romaynes and the Carthaginies. 13
tours of Carthage, according to his com-
maundement, a prince of Carthage an-
swered on this wise.

O ye Romaynes, your first legacy (when
ye came and required Annibal to be deli-
uered vnto you, as one that hadde besie-
ged Sagunt of his owne minde without
our counsaile) was voyde and of none ef-
fecte. Howe then should this your cruell
legacy take place, wherein ye requyre of
vs a confession of the trespassse, and a-
mendes for the same: I thinke it oughte
not to be inquired whether Sagunt was
destroyed by our publyke or priuate coun-
saile, but whether it was done ryghte-
fully or wrongfully. For your question
and consideration, as concernynge oure
citesin is, whether he enterprysed the
spege and battaille by his owne minde, or
by our acorde: and our controuerisie wyth
you, is, whether it mighte be done, the
truce beynge obserued or no. Therfore,
syth it must be determined, what rulers
maye dooe by the common counsaile,
and what of theyr owne wyll: we
musse vnderstande, that the truce that
was taken betwene you and vs, was
geuen by Luctatius, then beynge youre
rom

The warres betwene the
consull: in whych it was conceived, that
both oure frendes shoulde be spared, no
mention being made of the Saguntines
for as then they were not your frendes.
But verely in the truce, that was taken
wyth Hasdruball, the Saguntines were
excepted, agaynst whych I wyll saye no
thyng, but that I haue learned of you.
Trulye, ye refused to obserue the truce,
that C. Luctatus your consull, dyd de-
cree and make wyth vs, because it was
not done by auctorite of the fathers con-
script of your senate: then yf you do not
obserue and kepe your bandes and truce,
onelesse they be constitute and made by
your auctoritie and commaundement:
We also wil not obserue the truce taken
by Hasdruball, whereof we were igno-
rant. Therefore leaue name to speake of
Sagunt and Iberus: and declare boldlye
that whych you haue longe tyme consul-
ting, deuised. Then the Romaine legate
aduanced forth him selfe, and said: Here
we bringe vnto you peace or warre: take
whether you will. Whereunto they
fiercly answered, yf he shoulde geue whe-
ther he would. And when he agayne set-
ting forth his commaundemēt had shewed
them

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 13

theym that they shoulde haue warre, they
answered all: that they wolde accept it,
and with no lesse courage prosecute the
warre, than they had receiued it.

When the Romaine ambassadours had
proposed the warre as it was commaun-
ded theim, they wente from thense into
Spayne, wyth sayre behestes to wynne
and allure the chiefe cities therof to their
fauour, and to tourne from the Cartha-
ginenses. First they came to Bargulies,
who receiued them gentilly, because they
were werye to be vnder the dominyon of
Carthage, surrynge muche people wyth
belyze of the new warres. From thense
they came to the Volcians: whose wys-
e and quicke answer shortlye known
throughe Spayne, turned the residue of
the people from the frendship of the Ro-
mayns. Thus the eldest of them in coun-
saile answered.

O ye Romaynes howe maye ye for
shame requyre vs to accepte your frend-
ship before the frendship of the Carthagi-
nenses, when they that so dyd (the Sa-
guntines) ye more cruelly betrayed than
theyr enemies did destroye. Therefore I
bold counsaile you, to go seke your fren-

C. b.

DES.

The warres betwene the
des, where the destruction of Sagunt
not known. For as they destruction
was an heauye and pityfull thinge to the
Spaniards: so is the same a great warn-
ning & teaching, that no man should trust
to the promise and frendshipp of the Ro-
maynes. With this aunswere they were
commaunded shortly to departe from the
Volcians, neither coulde they after get
any better frendeshipp of any of the coun-
saile of Spayne. And so whan they had
in vaine trauielled through Spaine, they
came into France, where whan they had
before the nobles and greate multitude
of the people, magnified and extolled the
renoume and power of the Romaynes,
they desyred that the Carthagynenses
shoulde haue no waye through France,
to leade they army into Italy. At which
requeste there arose suche a laughinge
among them, that (as it was sayd) scarce-
ly the youth coulde be pacified of the au-
cient men and rulers. Their desyre was
thought very foolish and unreasonable,
that the frenchmen shoulde not suffer the
Carthaginenses to leade they army
through France: but they for other mens
pleasure shoulde tourne the warre to them
selues,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 14
selues, and harsarde they countrey to be
destroyed. Whan the noyse was appea-
sed, answere was made, that the Romai-
nes were at no time so frendly vnto them
nor the Carthagynenses so greate foes,
that they wold eyther hold with the one,
or warre agaynst the other. They sayde
more ouer, that the Romaynes had dy-
uen dyuers of they countrey men oute of
Italye, and caused other to paye tribute,
with manye other iniuries. Suche aun-
swere for the moste parte they receyued
through all Fraunce, nor other netwos of
peace or frendship they scarcely harde be-
fore they came to Massilya: Where they
had knowledge by certaine of they fren-
des, that Annibal had obtained the hartes
of the frenchmen before, and that he had
corrupted the Prynces and rulers with
money, wherof they were most couetous
and desirous of all nacions. So whan the
Romains had wandred through Spaine
and France, at laste they came to Rome,
not longe after the Consuls were gone
to the prouinces, and they found the citie
hollye bente on the expectation of warre.
For it was euidently knowe, that the Car-
thaginenses were passed the riuer Iberus.
Howe

The warres betwene the
How Anniball renewing the warre, condu-
ted his armie into Fraunce to passe the
mountaynes. Cap. vii.

After Sagunte was wonne,
Annibal (as afoze is said) went
to new Carthage for the wynter,
and there hearing what was
done and sayde bothe at Rome and Car-
thage, and that he was not onely the ca-
pitaine of the warres, but also the chiefe
cause therof: partinge and deuidynge the
religions of the pray, and thinkinge to lose
no longer time, called the souldiours of
Spaine together, and exhortyng them to
warre, said on this wyse:
I suppose that you my frendes do know,
seinge all Spaine is peasible and at rest,
that eyther we muste synge the war-
fare and send home our souldiours, or els
beginne warres with some other nacion.
If we seke renoume and victorie in other
countreys, our owne nacion shal not on-
ly flourish in gooddes, tranquillitee,
and peace of theyr owne at home, but al-
so enioye the rychesse, the iewelless of the
spoyl at our conquest. Wherefore seying
ye muste trauaile farre from home, and
uncer-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 15
Uncertayne it is, whan ye shall retourne
agayne to see youre houses, and those
whom you loue, if any of you wyll go see
his friendes, I shal geue hym spendynge
for a season, but I warne you all, that ye
be here agayne with meate the sprynge of
the yere, at whych time I intende to be-
ginne the warres, by the goddes fauour,
with great hope of wyning and praise.
Euerie man was gladd of the libertee
that Anniball of his free will had geuen
them, to go see their countreys and fren-
des. The reste from trauaile whych they
had all the winter season, made them
stronge and lustye in theyr bodes and
couragious to endure the labours and
peines, that were to come. And at the be-
gynnyng of yer they assembled together
as it was commaunded.
¶ Whan Anniball had taken the mu-
lters of all nations that came to aide him
he departinge from Gades, accomplished
his bove made to Hercules: and bounde
hym selfe with newe bowes, if his other
enterprises did prosperously succede.
¶ Wherefore providing as wel for to with-
stande inuasions, as to inuade by warre,
deste whyle that he iourneyed by lande,
throughe

The warres betwene the
through Spaine and France towarde
Italy, he shuld leaue Affrica open and na
ked to the Romayns from Sicilia, he de
termined to leaue there strong garrisons
in all places. And so for that cause he sente
for a bend of Affricanes, namely of thos
that vse to throw dartes, and were lygh
harneyed, whych number of Affricanes
he lefte in Spayne, and than sente he a
great number of Spaniardes into Affri
ca to kepe that Countrey, to the entente
they being eche of them farre from they
countreys and frendes, shuld (as thought)
they were pledges eche for other, play the
good souldyours, and styckynge toge
ther, defend in that they myghte the one
countrey of the other. After he had ordered
and assigned stronge garrisons to euery
part and region, as to Carthage, Spaine
and Affrica, remouynge his armye from
Gades to new Carthage, led them from
thens to the ryuer of Iberus, and to the
sea coast. There (it was said) he saw in his
slepe a yonge man of a heuenlye shape,
whyche sayde he was sente from Jupiter
vnto Anniball, to conducte him into Ita
lye, shewynge to hym before the destruc
tion of Italy: and that he shuld procede in
his

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 16
his vyage, & serche no more, for the desy
ries were hid & secret. When he had sene
and herde these thinges, he conueyed his
hoste, denyded into thre partes, ouer the
riuer of Iberus. Dyuers of his frendes
he sente before hym, to wyne the hertes of
the frechmen with gistes, through whose
countrey he muste nedes passe: and also to
determine the passages ouer the mountay
nes. He conducted. lxxx. and. x. M. foote
men, & xii. M. horsmen ouer the foresayd
water of Iberus. When subdued he dy
uers townes and domynions therabout,
which lay at the fote of the mount of Bi
rene, & there he appointed Hanno with. x
thousand footemen, and a thousand horse
men to remayne to kepe those passages
and straites, which laye betwene France
and Spayne, when they beganne to ap
proche nigh to the foresaid high & dange
rous mountains, and that it was openly
known, that the war was take agaynst
the Romayns, thre thousand of the Car
petanes footemen, sodaynelye departed
from the host, & forsoke him, not for scare
of the warre, but for the longe journey,
& peryllous passage ouer the mountains
almost vnable to be passed, Annibal seeing
be

he coulde not change their mindes, and that it was doubtful to kepe them by violence, lest it should steepe the fierce mindes of the residue and make them wery, after them aboue. 7000. other more, such as he supposed to be werpe of the warfare, saynyng that he had also licence them that were fyrst stolen away, to departe home, because of the tedious journey: this did he to thintent the rest should have none occasion to leave or forsake hym. And than lest by prolonginge the time, he should hinder the mindes of the residue, he led his hoste forth with speed and passinge the mountaines of Pyrene pitched his tentes before a towne, called Illiber. The frenchemen althoughe they herd that the Carthaginenses were come to warre vpon Italye, yet because the same wente, that the Spaniardes on the other syde of the hyl of Pyrene, were by them subdued, and stronge garrisons therfore there lefte, beyng afraide of multitude, armed them, and much people assembled at a towne called ruscino. At the thyng whan Anniball herde, fearing more delay of tyme, than warre, with a great haste as might be, he sent out a towne

to the rulers, desyringe to speake wyth them: the wyng that he came not as an enemy, but as a guest or friend to france and that he wold not, if it pleased them, drawe his sworde, before he were passed france. The frenchemen herynge this, incontynent remoued to Illiber, and with good wyll came to Anniball, which waued them with gistes, to suffer hym to haue free passage throughte their towres and countreys.

Thus Anniball passed the ryuer of Rhodanus, put the frenchmen to flight, refused to fight wyth the consull of Rome and with what wordes he encouraged his soldours to passe the mountaynes, Cap. viii.

Thus Anniball either with feare or wyth money wyngynge the countreys as he went, brought his host to a felde of the Volcanes, a strong kinde of people, which inhabited on both sydes the water of Rhodanus, who doubting the power of the Carthaginenses, and mistrusting theyr owne strength, conueyed all that they had ouer

77 The Sharris betwene the
the river, & kept the further side thereof
that the river shoulde be as a maine
assistance to them: The residue of the
habitanes, that remained there (becaus
they were gladd to ride the countrey
such a huge number of men of war) were
contented to be retoynd by Anniball
rewardes to make botes and shippes,
passe over the river, so that in short space
they had gotten and made a gre
naime of shippes, and of small cocke
tes. The frenchmen beganne to fashy
botes, by wyng trees and making the
holowe after the ryght facion. And the
the soldours theym selues, both for
pleantie of timbre, and also the easines
of the crafte, euery man helowd his tree
and made a bote to carpy him selfe and his
stufte ouer. When all thynge was made
ready to passe ouer, the great company
of ennemies on horsebacke and on foot
that were on the other side, abashed
them sore. Wherfore to wyne awaye, An
nibal sent Hanno Bonillars some
a strong compaigne, namely of Spaniar
des in the beginninge of the nighte, com
maunding them to kepe by the river
a daye

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 18
a daies iourney, and as soone as he could
to conuaye his compaigne ouer priuilye,
that they myght be readye when time re
quired, to set vpon theyr ennemies be
hynde. Certayne Frenchemen were ap
pointed to guyde and conuaye theym by
alonge the river side: Who conducted
them the space of foure & twenty miles by
the streame to a litle Ile where they fel
led trees, and spedelye made botes, in the
whiche they might conuaye them selues,
theyr horses, and their necessarye stufte
ouer. The Spanyardes throwinge theyr
clothes vpon bottels, and sitting on their
sheldes fastned aboue thereon, passed the
river, the rest of the hoste, ioyning botes
together, passed ouer, and pitched theyr
tents on the other side of the river,
where after their nightes iourneye, and
large dayes labour, they rested al that
daye and nyghte to refreshc them.
The nexte daye they remoued from
thence, and with bournyng made a smoke
to signifye that they were passed the ry
uer, and were not farre of. Which thing
when Anniball perceyued, lest he should
lose the time, gaue a sygne to his hoste to
passe ouer. The footemen wyth theyr
baggage

baggage passed ouer in botes: the hoysmen shipped suche hozses, as at theyr lading they must nedes occuppe, the rest of the hozses they tyed to small botes, and caused them to swimme ouer. And to abswage the rage of the water, as well for the ease of the small botes, as of the hozses that swamme, they sette the great shippes and botes betwene the stream and them. The frenchemen seing this, ranne to the bankes with great shouting and singing after their facion, knocking their sheldes ouer their heades, & shaking their weapons in their right handes: notwithstanding it was a terrible bashment vnto them, to behold such a multitude of shippes, to heare the huge noyse & rush of the water: the diuers cries & clamour of the mariners and souldiours, that deuoured the to ouercome the rage of the water: the exhortations that they the were landed gaue to the other. Thus being in great feare of the tumultuous rollinge before them, behinde theym arose more dreadfull clamour that Hanno had taken their campe, & came on them at their backes: they fled euery man what way he might soonest get. When Annibal had

con

swayed the rest of his hoste ouer, nothing regarding the frenchemen, pitched his tentes. The Romaynes had sent P. Cornelius Scipio wyth an armie to meete with Annibal, and was a litell before arrived at Passilia, & had pitched his tentes on the syde of the riuer of Rhodanus.

When Annibal knewe thereof, he sent .v. C. Numidian horsemen, to viewe the Romaynes campe, their ordre, and also the number of them, who being espied were encountred wythall by .iii. C. Romaynes whiche after great slaughter on both sides obteyned the victorie, and perforce put the Numidians to flyghte. Publius Cornelius Scipio, being consull and captain of the Romayne armie looked for none other thing but that Annibal should geue him battayle. And like it was, that he would so haue done, had not the legates of the Boios, & the ruler of Fraunce, (whych offered them selues as companions in the iourney) tourned his mynde: aduisinge him in nothyng to minishe his power, til he were come into Italy.

When Annibal was firmlye syred to go forth, he beganne to exhorde and encourage his souldiours, whiche were almost

most

were almoste discouraged with feare of the doubtful passage ouer the high mountaynes, whyche they shoulde passe, they wynged vnto them that before they came out of Spayne, they had brought al those people and realmes whyche were inclosed wyth two seuerall seas, to be vnder the dominion of Carthage: And that it were shame for them to departe, seynge they had alreadye passed the leopardous passage ouer the ryuer of Rhodanus, and also ouercome so manye Frenchemen, that prohibited theym that perillous passage. Moreouer he sayde, the same hygh mountaynes were in theyr sight, whych on the one parte ioyned to Italy. He shewed them also, that the sayd mountaynes were not so dangerous, as they supposed them to be. For they were but high hilles and that men and beastes did inhabyte vpon them, whyche hilles, whyles they did not touche the skye, myghte be overcome by mans laboure. Also, seynge that traauylers passe ouer wyth theyr stuffe, wyues and children, muche more souldours hauing but theyr armour and weapons, might go ouer them: ye may (sayde he) wel perceine, that such as in time past went

went ouer these hilles, had not wynges to flee ouer theym, wherefore eyther ye must geue place both in hardynesse and vertue to the Frenchemen, bringe so oftentimes ouercome of vs, whych by their strengthe and manhode conquered these mountaynes in olde time, or els let vs truste, that the ende of our iourney, shall be the great felde lieng betwene the riuer of Tiber, and the walles of Rome.

When he had with these exhortacions, encouraged them, the next daye he remooued from Rhodanus, and toke his waye through the middell of Fraunce, not because that was his next way but for that he would not mete the Romaynes before he came into Italy. Wherefore he wente the further from the sea, and brought his hoste into a litell yle. The inhabitauntes whercof were called Allobroges, a kinde of people, that in honoure and rychesse might not lyghtly be matched in France. Amonge theym was greate dyscorde, by reason of two brethren that stroue for the lande. When Anniball was entred the sayde lande, the determination of the contention was committed wholye to him: who in shorte space set and established

The warres betwene the
blyshed the elder in possession of the inhe-
ritance. Whiche done, the sayde lorde
ayded him with men, wyttayles, clothes,
to defend them fro the colde of the moun-
taynes, and other necessities; and so he
departed to go to the mountaynes, not
holding the ryght waye, but helde on the
lefte hande still wythoute interruption
vntill he came to a floud called Drientia
this was in all Fraunce the daunge-
roust river to passe over. For notwyth-
standing that the water was swifte and
of great strength, yet coulde it beare no
shippes, because it was inclosed with no
sure bankes: so that it made nowhe here
drye ground, nowhe there deepe tryl holes.
Beside this it was replenished with
greate ragged stoncs, so that there was
no sure waie for any man to passe over.
After Anniball was departed from the
riuer of Rhodanus, Publius Cornelius
Scipio the consul within. iiii. dayes came
to the campe, where his ennemies laye,
who seinge they were gone, and that he
could not easily ouertake them, wente to
his shippes, thinkinge to meete them as
they descended from the mountaynes in-
to Italy, and so the better to medle with
them

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them there. And because Spayne shoulde
not be lefte without defence, he sent thither
Cneius Scipio hys brother wyth a
greate parte of his hoste, againste Hasdru-
ball, to the intente not onely to helpe hys
friends and get mo, but also to driue Has-
druball out thereof, if he mighte, he hym
selfe with a small army went to Genua,
and with the hoste, that lay about the ry-
uer of Padus, he intended to kepe Italy.

Howe and wyth what labour, payne, and exce-
dyng greate daunger Hanniball and his ar-
mye passed ouer the hyghe mountaynes
Alpes into Italy. Capit. ix.

HAnniball came from Drientia
mooste part by the plaine fieldes
and valeys (by the sufferance of
the French men beyng inhabi-
tauntes there) to the Alpes or high moun-
tains: and as the same wente, so it was
founde: The toppes of the hyghe hilles
were myngled with snowe, that almoste
touched the skye, and full rude houses
were set vpon the rockes, the beastes and
labourynge cattell beyng frozen wyth
colde, the men naked, vnschauen, and vn-
rounded,

rounded, all the beastes and people were
starke and shronke together wyth froste,
wyth other thynges more fearefull and
horrible to be sene than spoken, whyche
wan the hoste salve nere hand, dyd renne
and increase theyr drede. As the armye
marched by betwyxte the rockes, they
might perceiue the mountaine men assem-
bled on the hilles ouer them to defend the
passage. Annibal caused hys standerds to
staye there, and sente the Frenchemen
to viewe the passage. And whan he vn-
derstode, that there was no goynge that
way, he pitched his tentes in the plainest
valey that he could finde among the bro-
ken stones & craggess. And perceiuing by
the frenchmen, who knewe almoste their
language, that the deserte passages were
kepte on the day time, & that on the night
euerye of theym wolde repayre to theyr
rotages or houses: The nexte morninge
he gatte vp on the hylles makynge sem-
blance as though he wolde attempte to
winne the passage by force: thus he spent
the hole daye, dyssemblynge to doe one
thing, and intending an other, til it was
nyghte: than he wyth due hym to hys
campe, where he before rested. But so
long

as he wist, that the mountaine men
and those that watched the passage, were
gone to theyr rest: he made manye greates
fires, & leauing al the cariage and stiffe,
with the horsemen and most parte of the
footemen in his campe, him selfe wyth a
great number of light and valyant men.
quickly passed the straites, & gat the same
hilles, that the other kepte before. The
next daye the hoste and stiffe beganne to
come after. In the morninge the moun-
taine men assembled to go to their places
as they were wont to do. But whan they
sawe their enemyes had gotten their ca-
stels and places aboue their heades, it
feared them sore, and caused them to stay
for a season. Afterward, whan they sawe
so great feare among the host in the strei-
tes, and that they were almoste confoun-
ded with theyr owne noyse and trouble,
the horses tremblinge for drede: they
thought to put theym to further trouble,
& to worke them more displeasure. wher-
fore they came downe by the hylles syde
along the rockes, being vsed therto, where
none other could escape: And nowe here,
nowe there, invaded the armye, so that
what for the daungerousnes of the pas-
sage,

sage, and also by their ennemyes they were meruaylously encumbred. But among al other troubles the greatest was, that when they saw their selues thus in danger by reason of their ennemyes & of the passage: than stroue the one with the other, who shuld fyrst escape the daunger thereof, by passing first the sayde straites, fightynge more with theyr owne compaignye than with theyr ennemies. Theyr cattel being also stricken and hurte by the verthe of the mountayns, roving and pelting, hurt and ouerthrowne manye of the horte, some armed, some vnarmed downe the hyghe mountaynes, with stuffe and baggage, that pitie it was to beholde.

When Anniball was informed thereof, he descended with a greate number with him & at his first coming, he disparted and put his enemies to flight, so that afterward he had not only leisure to conuey his army, but also silence and quietnesse. When he toke the castel the chiefe place of all that region, and other theyr villages. And with the captiues cattell he founde his army three dayes. Departinge from thence he came to another sort of mountayne people, whyche not by battayle,

but beinge taughte by the destruction of theyr neighbours, with craftie subtyltye and wyle deceptes, wrought hym muche displeasure. Certaine of the eldest and chiefe of the castelles came to Anniball, shewing hym, that they beinge admonished with the harme of theyr neighbours wolde rather haue his frendshyppe and amitye, than prouoke the wrath of the Carthagynenses, offeringe to obey his commaundements, and to aide him with bytailes; and to conducte hym and his people on theyr waye, and for the assurance thereof, they offered to deliuer him pledges. Annibal as wyle and taught in suche busines, neither gaue to their wordes ouer hastie credence, nor despysed theyr gentyll offer: lest thereby he should haue made them his manifest enemies, but soberly receyued their hostages, and bled theyr ayde vppon the waye: whose guides he folowed not neglygentlye, but in good order and araye. The elephantes and horsemen were set befoze, and Anniball him selfe came after with the strenght of his footemen in good araye, wylelye ouerlokinge all thyng. When they came to a more narrow waye, hauinge an

high hyl on the one syde, the sayde barba-
rike people sodainely set vpon them both
behynde and afore, rolling downe great
stones amonge the hoste: The reerwarde
was by them sore troubled, so that yf it
had not been surely defended, manye of
them had been destroyed. In this trou-
ble and perill remayned they all the daye
till the nyghte caused the ennemyes to
withdraue. On the morowe they were
nothings so vered as the daye before. For
theyr assaultes were but skymyshe,
somtyme before, somtyme behind. Wher-
fore they passed the streites, and came to
the toppe of the mountaynes, wythin
the space of .ix. dayes, not without greate
leopardy and slaughter, but moze of the
beastes than of the men. There Annibal
caused the armye, beyng weryed wyth
laboure, trauayle, and syghtyng, to rest
theym the space of two dayes. Durynge
whiche tyme there fell suche abundance
of snowe, that it renewed theyr sorowes,
for the snow fyllyng euerie place as the
armye shoulde passe in the mornyng,
made them almoste desperat. Anniball
perceyvinge their greate discourag, got
before the standerdes, and wente vp on
a

a hille, from whence he myghte see farre
and wyde, where causynge his armye to
stape a tystell, he shewed to them Italye,
and the sayde fieldes that laye aboute the
ryuer of Padus, adioyning to the moun-
taynes: and he sayde vnto theym, that
after they had passed these mountaynes.
they had already scaled the walles not on-
lye of Italye, but also of the verye citee
of Rome: shewynge them, that all other
passages were plaine, easy and nothinge
dangerous: and that within two or three
battayles at the moste, they shoulde at-
tayne Rome, which was the heape of Ita-
lye. With that the hoste beganne to sette
forewarde without any interruption, ex-
cept it were by smal inuasions as it were
robbers, and suche small skymysynges:
But the waye to descend was than moze
dangerous than it was at the ascending
vp of the same: for it was so narrowe,
stepe, and sleppy, that they could not saue
them selues from falling. And whan one
flood, he querthelwe hym that wente
before hym, so that men and cattell were
in leoparde of theyr lyues. After that
came they to a much moze strayte rocke,
the clyffes therof were so high and stepe,
that

that wth great payne the lighter souldi-
ours by taking holde of the shrubbes and
trees, that grewe on the rocke side, could
descende downe. The place, whych was
before of his owne nature pitchelong, by
sodayne breakyng downe of the earthe,
was made a thousande foote stipe ryghte
downe to the bottome. The horsemen
stayed there, as though they had bene at
theyr iourneyes ende. When Anniball
inquired, what caused theym to tarpe, it
was shewed him, that no mā could passe
the daunger of the rocke. When went he
to see the place him selfe: and it seemed to
him, that by the pathes, & wayes, whiche
appeared to haue bene vniused, by leasure
and long compasse, he might wel enough
conuey his armye about the rocke, but all
was in vayne, for vpon the olde yse and
frozen snowe there was the nyght before
newe snowe fallen of a small thickenesse
which after a litell goinge vpon, thawed
and gaue somewhat agayne, & became so
slippye, that skarcely vpon theyr handes
and knees coulde they sustayne them sel-
ues. Theyr horses and cattell tumbled in
the snowe, and were sore cutte on theyr
legges with the sharpe yse: so that it was
great

great pittie to heare the mone that the peo-
ple made in euery parte. To appease all
this noyse, and to comfort his people, An-
niball caused theym by policie to make a
place to pytche theyr tentes on. First, he
caused the snowe and yse to be digged vp
and striken awayne, whiche was not done
without great labour and tranaille. The
had he inuented a propre deuise to breake
the rockes, and throught them to make a
reasonable passage, he caused his compa-
ny to cut downe a great number of trees
that grewe on the hill ouer them, whych
he caused to be tumbled downe the hill,
vnto the sayde troublesome rockes, and
thereof to make great pyles of wood vpon
the sayde great rockes, and when the
wynde was bygge, he caused theym to be
set on fyre. When caused he great plentie
of vineger to be powred on the stones
that were before burned & wasted with
the greate heate of fyre, whereby they
were made much moze gentle to be bro-
ken and helued, and then with barres of
yron and other instrumentes they broke
and brused the rockes, and made them a
waye so playne, that not only the cattell
might passe throught, but also their Ele-

The warres bespene the
 phantes and theyr cariage. About this
 tyme they continued .iiii. dayes, in whiche
 the time theyr cattell was almoste fami-
 shed, so: on the hilles was nothinge but
 snowe to be gotten. Wherefore they sent
 theyr beasts to the valey partes to graze
 where also they rested. .iii. dayes, and then
 they came to the playne countreyes,
 whych were occupied wth husbandrye,
 and were fertile. After this maner they
 came into Italye, the fyfte moneth after
 they set forth from newe Carthage: And
 as some wyters saye, they passed the
 mountaines in fyftene dayes. What
 number of men Anniball brought
 into Italy, the wyters do not
 agree. Some saye he had a
 C. thousand footemen,
 and, xx. thousande
 horsemen: some
 write of more
 and some of
 lesse.

Where both the armies of Rome and Carthage
 approached, & the oracion that P. C. Scipio
 the Consull made to encourage his
 men to fight. Cap. x.

Romaynes and the Carthaginens. 26

Anniballes commynge to
 those partes, he found muche
 so: his purpose, the Taurines
 and Insubres warring one a-
 gaynst the other, but he coude not arme
 his hoste to helpe the one parte, so: theyr
 bodys were so wearye of labour, theyr
 clothes so soule and fylthie, that some de-
 sired to reste after theyr trauayle, some
 sought so: vitayles after theyr hunger,
 some tarted to chaunge their apparayle
 and make cleane theyr garmentes: they
 were so sore badled in passing the moun-
 taines. Which thing. P. Cornelius Sci-
 pio the consull perceyued well, and that
 caused him to make the more speede with
 his armye to the river of Padus, that he
 might fight with them ere they were re-
 freshed of theyr greate labour, or coude
 haue time to furnishe their army. Scipio
 had receiued of Manlius and Attilius an
 host of newe souldiours, not muche exerci-
 sed in warres, and such as were straun-
 gers to him. When he was come to Pla-
 centia, Anniball was remoued and had
 taken and destroyed the chiefe citee of the
 Taurines, because they would not willig-
 ly yelde thē: & had wonne to his amitie al

the dwellers aboute Padus, had not the coming of the consull feared them. By that time that Anniball was a litell removed from the Taurines, the two hostes were almost met, and also the capitaynes. And as neither of theym was as then knowne to the other, so they were stricken wyth a certayne admyzacion, the one of the other. For Annibal by the winninge of Sagunte, was dread of the Romaynes: and likewise he supposed Scipio to be of no lesse fame and worthinesse, for that he was chosen of the Romaynes to be capitayne agaynst him. When Scipio passed ouer Padus, and removed his campe to a riuer called Ticinus: Where befoze he would geue battayle, to exhort and encourage his men, thus he began his oration vnto them.

If I had (louinge souldiours) the same armye, that I had in Fraunce with me, I would not speake vnto you that, which I intend at this present time to saye. For what should it neede to stee and encourage those horsemen, whyche at the riuer of Rhodanus so valiantly ouerthrew theyr enemies: or those legions, wyth whom I folowed this our fugitive enemye

mye. Nowe for because that hooft was sent by the Senate of Rome into Spaine there to make warre vnder my brother Cincius Scipio, to the intent you shoulde haue both a consull and capitaine agaynst Annibal and the Carthaginenses, I willingly toke vpon me this warre. A newe capitayne to newe souldiours should vse fewe wordes. Notwithstandinge least ye should be ignorant in this kind of war, and not knowe with whom ye shal fight ye shal vnderstand, that with these ye shal haue a doe, whom in your last warres ye subdued both by lande and sea, of whome ye toke truage perforce the space of twen ty yeares: from whome also you wenne Sardinia, and Sicilia, as a prey of war. Therfore in this battayle ye must haue the same heartes and myndes, that is wonte to be in conquerours: and in youre enemies must nedes be such heartes as happen to men ouercome. And they do not now geue battayle of theyr owne hardinesse and courage, but because they can not choose: onelesse you thinke, that they, whiche hauinge theyr whole armye freshe and lussy, withdrew them & durst not encounter with vs in battail beyond the

The warres betwene the
the mountaynes, and whyche losse the
partes both of horsemen and footemen,
in passinge over the same mountaynes.
Should haue nowe more hope and truste
than before. And those fewe that be left
of theym, haue losse bothe heartes and
strength, so that they are nowe prynces,
yea rather shadowes of men, than men
in dedde, beinge clonged together wyth
honger and colde, faynte and febled a-
monge the rocke hilles. Besides this,
theyr sinewes and veynes are frozen
together wyth colde of the snowe, theyr
membres wythered wyth froste and yse,
theyr harneys shaken, rusty, and broken,
theyr horses feble and lame. Wyth these
enemies you must fyght, yf they are the
leuyns of your enemies & not your ene-
mies. And I feare nothing more, than be-
fore you shal fight wyth your foes, it shal
be thought, yf the mountaynes haue first
ouercome them, and taken the honour
from vs. But so it is perchaunce necessa-
rie and meete, that the goddes wythoute
mans helpe, & wythoute battayle, should
ouercome theym, that are trece breakers.
And that we be violated and deceyued,
shoulde nexte after the goddes (as theyr
ministers

Romaynes and the Carthaginians. 28
ministers) bringe theym to bitter con-
fusion. peradventure manye of you wyll
suppose, that I speake these wordes
proudly and hyghly, onelye for your ex-
hortacion and comfort, and that I should
thinke otherwyle my selfe: Therefore,
ye shall vnderstand, that I was sent into
Spayne, to mine owne prouince, whi-
ther I was nowe going with mine host,
where I shoulde haue vsed bothe the fe-
lowship and counsaile of my brother in
all perilles and ieopardies, & should haue
fought rather with Hasdrubal beinge losse
of power, than wyth Hanniball: and so
shoulde I haue had lesse to do. Not wyth-
standing when I arriued with my ships
beyond the costes of Fraunce, landinge
I hearde greates bruit of Anniball, and
sending a certayne horsemen before, pit-
ched my tentes at Rhodanus: and there
my company ouerthrew & put to flight
those, wyth whom it was theyr chauce
to mete in battayle. Wherbycause I could
not wyth footemen ouertake mine ene-
my, which fled before me, I returned to
my shippes, and with as good speede as
I could make, saylunge a great compasse
aboute, arriued here, to mete him in the
front

The warres betwene the
front of the mountaynes, to the intent
geue him bataille: And to proue whether
the earth hath brought forth sodaynelye,
within the space of these. xx. yeares, other
Carthaginenses, than were wonte to be
bredde there or no. For if these be the
kinde of theym, that warred at the yle of
Cegates, I remember wel that they were
solde from Ceric for. xlviii. d. a piece come
who wolde. Also I longe to proue, whe-
ther this Anniball be the folower of Her-
cules in his iourney, as he sayeth that he
is, or els a tributary, a stipendarye, and a
seruaunt to the people of Rome, lefte by
his father. We haue to shewe the bands
of truce, written with the hand of his fa-
ther Amilcar: who beinge commaunded
by our capitaine, withdrew his garrison
from the citee of Ceric, who lamentynge
and frowninge receiued the greuous
lawes made agaynst the Carthaginen-
ses subdued, who couenaunted with the
Romaynes to departe from Sicilia, and
to paye tribute. Therefore souldiours, I
woulde haue you fyghte not onelye wyth
so good a courage as ye were wonte a-
gaynst other ennemies, but also wyth
suche an indignation and displeasure,
as

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 19
as though you sawe youre seruaun-
tes armed to fighte agaynst you. We
might if we had wolde, whan they were
inclosed at Ceric, with verve hunger (the
hardest and soreste punishmente amonge
men) haue destroyed them. We might al-
so (yf we had wold) haue sayled wyth our
victorious flauze in Affrica, and in short
space withoute battayle, vterlye haue
destroyed Carthage. We pardoned them,
we made peace wyth theym after they
were subdued, and toke them into oure
protection and defence whan they were
sore greued with the warres of Affrike.
And for these our benefites shewed vnto
them, folowing this furious yong man,
they come to conquere oure countrey.
And wolde to God thys battayle now
were for honoure, and not for the healthe
and safetie of vs all. We fight not now
for the possession of Sicilia and Sardi-
nia, for whyche we stroue in times past:
but now we muste fyghte for Italy. For
there is none other armye behynde vs,
which wil withstand them if we be over-
throwen: Neither be there any mo moun-
taines, ouer which whiles they were pas-
sing, men might prouide newe succours.
Here

Here we must resist them ene as we then
fichte befoze the walles of Rome. Eu-
ery man must thinke that he with his ar-
mour couereth not & defendeth onely his
owne body, but also his wife & smal chil-
dren. So: let no man care onelye so: his
owne house and family, but let him like-
wise haue in minde, that the senate and
people of Rome beholdeth this oure con-
flict and battayle, and hypon our fortune
at this present time dependeth the pro-
peritee of the citie & hole empire of Rome.

With what examples and wordes Annibal
exhorteth his souldiours to fight ballan-
tye. Cap. xi.

Whyles Scipio the counsulle in
this manner exhorted the Ro-
maines, Annibal thinking first
to encourage his men with de-
des, befoze he wolde exhorte thein with
words, disposed his army in compasse as
it were to beholde a syghte, and than he
brought in the middes of them the mount-
ayne men bounde, whome he befoze had
taken prisoners: & layed also in the same
place the armour of the frenchemē, which

he had ouercome, & caused one, that coulde
speake the language, to enquire of those
prisoners, whiche of theym, if they were
losed oute of theyr bondes, wolde take
hors and armour, & fichte for their liues.
When they all had desyzed armour and
battayle, he caused lottes for theym to be
caste, and accordynge to the lotte losed a
great number of them, who with leaping
and skippyng after theyr maner, euery of
them shortlye took his armoure, beyng
as ioyful and glad to die with honour, as
to lyue with shame and in captiuytee.
Then incontynente he called the souldy-
ers aboute him and made to them an o-
ration in maner and some solo wyng.
If ye haue any minde or remembrance
of the example of the strangers fortune
not long passed, ye should haue the same
euen now, in waiping your owne fortune
and chance. Wee haue ouercome in bat-
talle those oure captiues. Therefore ye
muste thinke, that all these youre pris-
oners, now shewed befoze you, were not
shewed as a spectacle for you to beholde:
But as a certayne resemblance of youre
owne chance and condycion, in case ye be
nowe ouercome and taken: And I can
not

The warres betwene the
not tell, whether fortune hath geuen
greater bandes, and more vrgent neces-
sities to you, than it hath geuen heretofore
to these captiues. Two seas do compass
you bothe on the ryght hande and on the
lefte: and shippes haue you none to
escape away wythall. The water of Pa-
dus is al about vs, more violent than the
ruer of Rhodanus, and at our backes
are the high mountayns, which ye passed
with so great peine and peril. Wherefore
louing souldyours, ye muste epyther ouer-
come your enemies at the firste encoun-
ter, or els be slayne. And the selfe fortune
which hath brought you nowe into such
necessitie, that nedes ye must fight or die:
the same fortune shall geue you suche re-
wards, yf ye subdue your enemyes, as no
mortal men can desire greater of the im-
mortal gods. If we shuld by our valyan-
tes recouer againe but onely Sicilia and
Sardinia, which were wonne from our
forefathers, it might be thought a suffici-
ent rewarde. But in case we speede well
now, what soeuer the romains haue got-
ten with so many victories & triumphes,
and all the dominions, whych they nowe
possesse, shalbe al ours, with the princes,
lordes

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 32
lordes and rulers of the same. To winne
so riche a praye with fauour and helpe of
the goddes, arme youre selfe, and sette
forth the boldelye. We haue hitherto longe
enoughe chasyng beastes on the wyde
and large mountaynes of Lusitania and
Celtiberia, founde no worthy praye nor
rewarde to recompence so manye youre
labours and perilles. Nowe it is tyme to
get your rich prais measuring your great
rewards accordyng to the desertes of
your trauayle, enterprisynge this so great
a iourney, passinge ouer so manye moun-
taines and riuers, and by so many kindes
of armed people. Here fortune hath ge-
uen you an ende of youre trauayle: Here
fortune wyll rewarde you accordyng to
the costes and charges that you haue ben
at. For ye should not suppose the victorie
to be so hard, as the battayle is of greate
name. Oftentimes a small host hath made
a great and a doutful battaile: againe no-
ble people, yea and kynges haue bene o-
uercome in a littell moment. For take a-
waye the terryble sounde of the name of
rome, and what are they to be compared
to you: For our great warres this. xx. yeres
with your manhod, with youre good for-
tune

The swarres betwene the
tune I speake not of. I will only remem-
ber thinges of late done. We are come hy-
ther from the pyllars of Hercules, from
the Ocean sea, from the furthest parts
of the world, passinge throughe and con-
quering so many fierce and cruel nations
of Spayne and Fraunce. You shall
now fight with yong and vntaught sou-
dours, of late beaten and overcome by
the Frenchemen, and as yet vnknewen
to theyr capitayne, and he vnto theym.
Shall I that was borne and broughte up
in the noble hous of my father, that hath
ben the chastiser of Spayne and France,
that haue conquered not onely the people
of the mounteynes: but also all the
passages, whiche is muche more: com-
pare my selfe wyth this weake capitayne
of a fourtenyght olde, wanderynge frome
hoste to hoste: to whom if a man this daye
wolde shewe the armye of Carthage and
the armye of the Romaynes together:
he cannot tel of which hoste he is gouer-
nour, but onely by the banners and bad-
ges. Surelve worthy warriors, I esteeme
not this a littel, that there is none of you
before whom I haue not done some wor-
thy feat of warre. At that tyme ye
dyd

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 31
did extolle and laude me, and thought me
worthy of gyftes and preferment.
And now I shall more lyke a father than
a capytaine, before you all enter into bat-
tyle againste these people, that nother
knoweth vs, nor any of theym knoweth
other. Where soeuer I caste myne eyes,
I see nothyng among you but hardynesse
and strengthe, the moste auncient and
famous footemen, the moste noble ar-
med and unarmed horsemen, and you
most faithfull and hardy Carthaginenses
and felowes, shall bothe fyghte for youre
countrey, and in a iuste & ryghtuous quar-
rell. The byngge warre and banners dis-
played into Italy noisome to the Romai-
nes: And so muche more boldly we maye
fyghte, in howe muche the hope and cou-
rage of vs that invade, is stronger than
theyr that onely defende. Besydes all
this theyr wronge, and vniworthy dea-
lynge towarde vs, dothe kendle and en-
courage our myndes. For fyrst I beyng
capitayne was requyred, and than al you
that were at the destruction of Sagunt,
were in lyke wyse requyred to be deliue-
red to the Romaynes be put to deathe.
This moste cruell and proude nation
doth

The warres betwene the
both all thinges after they; owne brayn
and iudgement: they will determine with
whom we shall haue warre or peace. At
thynge that they do, they thinke it right
full. They will appoynte hylles and
fluddes to be boundes and metes, which
we maye not passe, yet will not they ob
serue the places and termes, whiche they
haue sette and prescribed theim selues.
Thou shalt not (saye they) passe Iberus,
lest thou make the ad with the Sagun
tines, Sagunt is at Iberus: Therefore
you shall not moue thither from your ap
poynted place. They esteeme it but a ly
tell to haue taken from vs our most au
cient prouinces, Sardinia and Sicilia,
but they will haue Spayne also. And yet
they winne that, than they wyl haue Af
frica. I maye well saye Affrica also. For
they haue sent two consuls this yere, one
into Affrica, and an other into Spayne.
There is nothing left to vs, but that that
we muste be faine to wyne againe with
the sword. If feare compell theim, lyke
cowardes to flee here from vs, they haue
places enoughe to receiue theim; they
know the countreys and wayes whereby
to escape: It behoueth you to play the ba
lyant

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 33
ant men, and setting all at six and seuen
ether to vanquyshe, or elles yf fortune
owne, rather manfullye to dye in bat
tle, than to be slaine in fleing away. If
his that I haue sayd be fast fixed in your
minde, I saye to you for certayne, you
haue all ready the victory.

How Scipio and Hanniball met by chance,
and fought together, and how the consull
was hurte, and Hanniball vic
tore. Cap. xii.

Vhan by these exhortacions the
men of warre on bothe partes
were kindled and stered to bat
tyle, the Romaynes pitched
they; tentes at Ticinus, where they be
gan to make a brydge, & first they made a
colwe upon the same, for the safegarde of
the brydge whiles it was workinge. But
while they were occupied aboute they;
worke, Hannibal sent Maharbal, with a
companye of the Punioyes of. v. C. horse
men, to destroye the fylers of such as
were frendes to the Romaynes, char
geing theim to spare the Frenchmen:
and to stee the princes to forsake the Ro
maynes

maynes amitpe. When the bridge was made, Scipio conueyed his armie ouer, and pitched within five miles of Annibals campe. And when the Romaynes hoste approached, Maharball was called backe. When Annibal (who could neuer enough fire his souldiours to battayle) had promised them gyftes, rewardes, y^e and freedom, with landes also eyther in Affrica, Spayne, or Italye, at their owne pleasures, in case they might obtaine the vpper hand: he did sacrifice vnto the gods holding a lambe in the lefte hand, and a flynt stone in the ryght hand, desiring Iupiter and the goddes all, so to slea him as he did the lambe, if he would breake promise with them. And than euery of them receiuing a sure hope, desired the battell. The Romaynes made no such haste, because they were feared wth straunge tokens and syghtes a litell before. For a wolfe was sene to come into they^r campe which rent and tore those that he mette, and him selfe escaped without hurt. Divers other suche tokens berpe strange, were shewed among the Romaynes. When Scipio had soughte diligently what

what they might signifie: he went wth certayne horsemen with him, to a litell hill nere adioyning to viewe the numbze and demeanour of Annibals host: where by chaunce he met Annibal and certayne horsemen with him, that was also ryden forth to viewe the countreys about.

When they were almost met, with great care and diligence they set them selues in araye to fight. The battayle was strong for a season, and doubtfull. But in a whyle the Romaine footemen fled backe to they^r battayle, where beyng mingled wth the horsemen, they caused greate confusion: but whē the Numidian horsemen, whiche were on the winges, came on them also, then fledde they on all partes to they^r campe. In this conflict was the Consul Scipio sore wounded, whom wth greate payne his horsemen caried out of the feild to their greate discomfort. Wherefore the nyght folowinge, the Romaynes making as litell noyse as myght be, that they^r ennemies shoulde haue no knoweledge, remoued from Ticinus to Padus: and came to Placentia, before that Annibal wist that they were departed.

ted from Ticinus. Dago with the Span-
nysh footemen swam ouer the water
quickly, & Annibal by the higher parte of
the riuer, passed ouer his hoste, wyth as
greate speede as mighte be. And wythin a
fewe daies he came & pitched before Pla-
centia, and on the morowe after, in the
sight of his enemies, he ranged hys host,
and sette them in araye redie to geue bat-
tyle. The night folowing by reason of a
sedicion that arose in the Romaine army
there were manye Frenchemen slaine of
those that came to theyr aide, whereupon
two thousand fotemen and two hundred
horsesmen of the Frenchemen, sleynge
the watchemen at the gates, fled to An-
niball, whome he gentillye entertayned
and kenedled with hope of excedyng great
rewardes, he sent euery man home to his
owne citee, thereby the more to allure
and tourne the minds of the commons of
theyr countrey vnto hym. Scipio deming
this slaughter to be a token, that all the
Frenchemen woulde forsake hym, and
that they beyng touched with this puell
dede, as a madnesse were fallen vpon
thems, wolde renne to harneys, notwithstanding
standynge hys wounde greued hym sore,
yet

yet as priuilege as he might in the nyghte
tyme, he remoued his hoste to the ryuer
Trebia, and pyched in hygher places,
and on lyttell hylles ylle for horsesmen.
Anniball hauyng knowledge therof, sent
first certayne Numidians after, and than
all the horsesmen: whych should haue put
the reuerward to gret trouble, had not the
Numidians for couetousnes of praye,
toured to the boode tentes of the Ro-
maynes, in which season they escaped.

How Annibal fought with Sempzonius
the consul, and by what meanes he put
the Romayns to flyght. Cap. xiii.

During this time was Sempzo-
nius the other consul goyng to
Sicilia with his armye, but in
his iourney he receiued letters
from the senate, of the entrynge of the
Carthaginenses into Italye, requirynge
hym to aide the other Consul as soone as
he might. Which whan he perceiued, he
layde garrisons in dyuers places, to de-
fende the prouinces, and came hym selfe
with a strong power into Italye, to kepe
the costes. Thus whan the two consuls
were

werer mette together, all the power of Rome was there assembled agaynst Anniball. Notwithstanding the one consull beinge abated by his fyrste battayle and sore wounde, would rather prolonge the matter, than fyght. But the other beinge freshe and lustye, and therefore more fyerce, would haue no delay, thinkinge it great honour vnto him, if he mighte recover agayne that the other consull had lost. Wherefore he sayde, that there was no man woulde deferre the battayle, but onely he, who beinge moze weaker in his hearte then in his bodye, for the remembrance of his wounde, did refrayne to fyght. And also that the time oughte not to be prolonged with sicke folkes. Shall we tarye and lose time? For what thirde consull, or what other armye shall we abide? The Carthaginenses haue pitched their tentes in Italy, and wel nere in the rize of Rome: who seke now neither Sicilia, nor Sardinia, that were afore conquered from them, nor Spayne beyonde Iberus, but they are come to drie and expell the Romaynes out and from their olde land and native cōtreie. (sayeth he) how much would our fathers, who

were wont to warre before the walles of Carthage, lament, if they sawe vs theyr childzen, yea and two consuls, with their two hostes, tremblinge and quakinge in Italy within our campe, & that the Carthaginenses had wonne all the felde betwene the Alpes and Appeninum. These wordes spake he to his hurt felowe in the Pryetory. And also the chosing of officers at Rome promoked him to make hast, lest that the tarlence for his felowe beinge hurte, mighte be occasion of theyr losse of prayse and victoie: and lest the warre might be committed to newe Consulles, whose election was then at hand. Which thynges considered, they prepared for the battayle in haste. Anniball althoughe he thought that nothing should be done unwarely, sent the two consuls were mette together, and that the warre shoulde be cruell and strong: yet did not he mistruste good fortune, because of his fyrst battaile. He was also the moze busye and intentive to do battayle, whiles he thoughte the souldiours his ennemies were yonge and rawe in the warres, and whiles one the best consull was yet not whole of his woundes, and whiles the Frenchemens heartes

heartes of his armie (of whom he than had a great number) were strong and hardy, whose courage he thoughte & knewe well woulde rather diminishe then increase, when they should be brought any further from theiꝝ owne countrey.

These thinges considered, he sente certaine Frenchmen abrode the countrey as spies, who shewed him, that the Romaynes were all ready to fyght. When Anniball wente to see and prouide a place for disceyte. There was in the middes betwene the twoo hostes, where the fielde should be, a river whyche was closed on both sides, wyth great and hygh bankes beset about with the wedes of the fennes which almoste couered all the grounde, with yong willowes and shrubbes, and also with highe bulshes & thornes: whych when he had searched and perceyued it to be a place obscure and darke enoughe to hide an imbushment of horsemen in, he sayd to his brother Mago: This place shalt thou kepe, and thou shalt (sayde he) chose vnto the one thousand of horsemen and one thousand of footemen, of the best of mine armye, to lye here in these couert places: and when time shal require to do

as

as I shall shewe you what therto apperteineth, and be ye sure, that ye shall haue enemies blynd in these seates of warre. When Mago had a. M. horsemen, and a. M. footemen deliuered to hym, Anniball commaunded the Numidian horsemen, the next mornyng to passe the water of Trebia, and ryde vp & downe before the gates of his enemies campe: and when they had with casting and throwyng in to theiꝝ tentes and stacyons, prouoked them to issue oute to battaile, allurynge them to pursue after, that then they shuld by littel and littell recule backe againe ouer the saide river. The residue of the capitaines he commaunded, that they shuld cause all their men to dyne and refreshe them selves, and after to be in a redynes, againste they should be called to the battaile: Sempronius hearing the rumoure of the Numidies, brought all his armye (being very desyrous of battaile) to the river, where vnto the other reculed backe, as was appointed by Anniball. The weather was extremely colde, and it snowed fast. The souldiours had taken no sustenance before, nor made any prouision to strength & kepe their bodies warme from the

The warres betwene the
the cold frost and snow. But in all haste
sols wyng the Numidians, they crafty
ennemyes that fledde before them, en-
tered into the ryuer. Now was the water
rysen that nyght, by reason of that snow,
as hyghe as they bestes. When they
came out of the water, they bodies were
so starke and benommed with colde, that
scarcely they coude holde they armour
upon them: and also toward the myddes
of the daye, they beganne to faynte for
hunger. In the meane season Anniball
caused great fyres to be made before his
souldiours tentes, that euery man might
warne him: and also to put oyle in they
gloues, which shuld soule they ioyntes
and members. When they hearde that
they enemyes were passed the ryuer,
they lustye bothe in body and herte,
euery man toke his weapon and wente to
battayle. Anniball ordred his battayles
circumspetlye: fyrste he sette forth his
throwers of dartes, whiche were of the
yles called Baleares, then his light har-
neyed footemen, to the number of. viii.
M. and after them the other footemen: he
also bestowed in the. ii. wynges. x. M.
hysmen, in whome rested the greates
Strength

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 37
Strength of his battayle, and into these
wynges also he departed his elephan-
tes, puttynge them craftely before the
syghte of his enemyes horses, whiche
were not wonte to them, so that for
straungenes of the syghte, and the vn-
accustomed sauour of them, they scattered
abrode, and than the battaile by the foote
men was mainteyned for a season: But
anone, what by reason of the horsemen
and elephantes, and also through the so-
dayne compnye of Mago with the Nu-
midians, that fiercly assailed the Ro-
maynes at theyr backes, they were stry-
ken with suche feare, that they fled on all
partes: Some leoparded to take the wa-
ter agayne, and escaped to theyr tentes,
but of them were but fewe, for eyther
they were drowned in the depe water, or
els slayne of theyr enemyes in the chase
at the water syde. Mago toke the ryghte
waye to Placentia, and thereby were sa-
ued. On the other syde the Carthaginen-
ses were so beaten with the raine mitte
wyth snowe, and with the intollerable
colde, that the beastes, Elephantes, and
men, were almost perished. The river of
Trebia caused them to retourne from
the

The warres betwene the
the pursuite of the Romaynes: so that al-
moste deade for colde they came to their
campe, with very smal ioy of their victo-
ry. The next nighte Scipio conueyed his
hoste ouer the riuer of Trebia, and so to
Placentia, vnware to the Carthaginen-
ses: who by reason of the behemet storme
of rayne that fell that nyghte, coulde not
here the remouynge: or els for peine of
woundes and werines of labour, dissem-
bled the matter and toke no hede thereof.
Thus were the Romains conueyed pe-
sibly to Placentia, and from thens they
passed ouer Padus to Cremona. When
the chance therof was knowen at Rome,
there arose suche sodayne feare amonge
them, as though their enemies had ben
come already with baners displaide before
the gates of Rome: Neither had they hope
of anye further succours, whereby they
myght defende their enemies from their
gates and walles: The one consul being
ouercome at Ticinus: and the other cal-
led from Sicilia to helpe hym: and now
both being together ouercome, and their
two hostes: What other capytaynes,
what other legions had they more leste
to wythstande them:

Hannibal

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 38
Hanniball intending to take a certayne castell
by stealth, was encountred by the Consul,
wounded, and put to the worse, and af-
ter a great slaughter of the people, he
wonne Ticunnius. And howe En-
Scipio in Spayne, ouerthrew
Hanno in battaile. Cap. xiii.

When Sempzonius by chaunce
had escaped the great daunger
of his enemies, he returned to
Rome, to the choyse of the
newe Consuls, at whiche parliamente,
Cneius Seruilius, and C. Flaminius
were created consules. Which thyng
done, he came to Placentia, thynkyng
to passe the Wynter quyetely in that
place, but the Romaynes had not quiete
so much as the Wynter time. For the
Numidians and other of the hoste of An-
nibal were sparkled abrode in the costes
so that they were troubled on euery side.
There was a certayne market towne
and castell not farre from Placentia, ve-
ry riche, and strongly fensed. Thither
went Hanniball with his horsemen, and
such as were light harneysed, thin kinge
to winne it by assault in the nyghte.

But

But the watchmen perceuing his intent
reised such a cry, that it was hard to *Plac-*
centia. Than the consul in the next mor-
ning, with his horsemen before, and by
legions in good order following after,
came thither, and gaue them battayle, in
the which Annibal was wounded: where-
by the Carthagynenses were in such
fear, that they gaue backe, and the peace
lasted whyles Anniballes wounde was
in healyng. And ere he was fully cured,
he wente to a place called *Vicunias*.
That place was surely kepte by the Ro-
maines, who beyng a greate number,
what of the garison, what of the towne
men, also by reason of the assemble of the
people of the countrey who being afraide
of the *Pumidians*, whiche coued abode,
fledde thither for succoure: these people
(I saye) beyng many in number, beyng
of the noble defendyng of the castell, ad-
ioyning to *Placentia*, thinkyng to doe
a greate feate, with a great route of pro-
ple, without any order, ranne to armour,
and came forth to encounter wyth An-
nibal. But because they were an unruly
compayne, withoute a capitaine or good
order, the other, being but a few in num-
ber,

ber, and good men of warre, hauyng a
good capitaine, vnto whom they myghte
trust, did discomfite of them. *xxxv. thou-*
sand, and the nexte daye toke the towne,
and made surbe a slaughter and destruc-
tion amonge them, as was not heard
of a great season before. These were An-
niballes victories durynge the wynter
season, after whiche they rested the
deepe of the wynter: And as soone as
sprynge time of the yere came, *Pempro-*
nus the consull, who was than returned
from Rome, prepared to geue battayle to
the Carthaginenses, & the first daye that
they met, the Romaines had so good for-
tune, that they not only wonne the victo-
ry in plaine fielde, but also droue them to
their tentes, and induozed them selves to
winne their campe. But Annibal, setting
certaine of his footemen to defende their
gates or entrees of their campe, and cau-
sing the reste, as well footemen as horse-
men to recule, did set them in aray within
the campe, to the intent to be in a readines
to rushe out vppon their enemies, so sone
as he made to them a signe. The romay-
nes seing they could not winne the campe,
blew the retraite. whā Annibal saw, that
the

The warres betwene the
the battayle was flaked, & the Romanes
began to recule backe from his campe: he
set forth the horsemen some on the right
hand, and some on the left, and him selfe
with the footemen, came after from the
campe, and gaue them a strong battayle,
putting them to much displeasure. But
anone the night departed them wyth like
losse and slaughter on both sides.
Whiles these thinges were done in Ita-
lye Cn. Scipio, being sent into Spayne
with his hoste, partely by force, and part-
lye by amitie and olde frendshippes, he
brought all the countreyes from Lusitania
to the riuer of Iberus, vnder the obe-
dience of the Romanes. And also, the
fame of his gentle entertayninge of peo-
ple, broughte the inhabitauntes on the
mountaynes, and the wilde nations, to
be his assured frendes. So that they were
al ready with their armour and succours
to ayde the Romanes to the best of their
powers. Hanno, whom Annibal had left
for the defence of these regions, knowing
these actes of Scipio, after his arrivall
and fearing least he should be by him put
from the possession of all that countrey:
appoynted to fyghte with him before the
matter

Romanes and the Carthaginenses. 40
matter were ouerfar gone, and pyched
his campe not farre from the hoste of the
Romanes. Scipio knowinge that if he
did longe tary from battayle, he shoulde
haue to do with him, and also with Has-
druball, who were both lesse for the de-
fence of the countrey, thoughte it better
for him to mete with them and theyr ho-
stes seuerallye, than to matche with both
the hostes together. Therefore he made
spede to meete first with Hanno and his
company. In which battayle, there were
daye. vi. thousand of the Carthaginen-
ses, and. ii. M. taken with theyr capitaine
Hanno, and all theyr tentes, wyth a cer-
taine towne also, nere vnto the campe
called Stiffus. Hasdrubal, before he
hearde of the discomfiture of his felowe
Hanno, was passed the riuer of Iberus
wyth. viii. M. footemen, and one thou-
sande horsemen, intendinge to mete the
Romanes at theyr fyrst comming. But
when he heard of the ouerthrowe of Han-
no and his people, he tourned towarde
the sea, where by chaunce he met wyth
manye Romanes, that were left in the
shippes not farre from Tarracon, wane-
bringe abode vpon the sea costes, taking
C. l. 110

no hede to their enemies, as people mis-
trusting nothing, but being neglygent
by reason of theyr late prosperous suc-
cesse. Of these negligent persons manye
he slewe, the rest he drowne to their shippes
with great feare. Neuerthelesse him selfe
beyng afrayd of Scipios comming, durst
not long tary in those partes, but wth
his armye passed the riuer of Iberus, and
destroyed the feildes of the Illergites,
brynging them to his subiection.

Howe Annibal passed the dangerous fennes
nere to the riuer of Arnus, to the great losse of
his men and cattell, where the fenney ayre cau-
sed him to lose one of his eyes. And of the
haste that Flaminius the Consull ma-
keth to geue hym battayle
Cap. xv.

As soone as the sprynge of the
yeare dyd appeare, Annibal go-
inge frome the place, where he
wintred: because it was sayde
that Flaminius the consull was come
to Arretium: notwithstanding that there
was a more easy and better way ouer the
great perillous fennes, where as at that
tyme

Some the riuer of Arnus had ouerflowed,
more higher than in times past, he com-
maunded the Spaniards with the Affri-
cans, and the most part of the olde soul-
diers with theyr suffe to go before, lest
when they were constrained to stay in
my place theyr necessities should be
wantynge: nexte them he set the frenche-
men, because he woulde haue that hoste
in the myddel, in whom he had least trust
of all he commaunded the horsemen
to come, geuing in charge to Mago with
certayne of the best Numidians, to come
behynde, and to bring forth the armye,
speciallly the Frenchmen, leste that
theyr wearines or feare of the long waye
shoulde cause them to staye or to stoppe a-
waye, as they are verie faynte and feare-
full people in such busynesse. The fyrste
companye walowynge in the thicke
mudde and the depe waters, scarcely sa-
uing them selues from drownyng, fol-
lowed theyr standerdes and guides. The
Frenchmen that followed theym coulde
neyther saue theym selues from fallinge:
neyther when they were downe, well
arise agayne, neyther could their heartes
comfort

comforte they: bodies, no: hope comforte
they: heartes: some dyed we they: weary
membres with payne after them. Some
other, where they ones fell, they: hertes
beinge overcome with wearines were
constrayned to dye. The watche that
they suffered. iiii. dayes, and. iii. nightes,
without anye slepe, was the chiefe cause
of they: confuston. Whē they could finde
no drie place, where they might rest their
weary bodyes, the water couering al the
earth, they heaped they: stufte and bag-
gage in the water, one packe on an ano-
ther, whereupon they rested and saved
them selues. The heapes of dead cat-
tell, which were dead in al the way, was
in stede of beds to many that were saynt
and seble, whiche eased theym for a litell
space. Annibal him selfe hauing sore eyes
by reason of the intemperate spring time
of the yeare, that chaunged now to heat
and now to colde, being caried vpon an
Elephant (which only remained) because
he shoulde be highe from the water: yet
through his great watche and colde, and
by reason of the fenny ayre being noisom
to his heade, and because there was no
place no: tyme to heale hym, losse one of
his

his eyes. And whē he had passed the fen-
nes, not without great losse both of men
and of beastes, as sone as he came to dye
grounde, he pitched his campe, haupnge
certayne knoweledge by his espies, that
the Romayne host was about Arctium,
a countrey as pleasaunte and fertile as
was in all Italie.

The Consul was then fierce and cruell,
for the loye and the pride of his newe of-
fice. And he not onely litell feared the
lawe and dignity of the fathers of the Se-
nate, but also he wanted the feare of the
immortall goddes. Fortune also had nou-
rished this his solike hardines with prof-
perous successe, as well in the riuelle bu-
sines & affayres at home, as in certayne
foeyne battayles: so that it appeared,
that he went aboute all thinges cruellly
and ouer hastely: neyther counsayng
with the gods, no: with men. And howe
muche more readye he was to folowe his
owne follie, so much the busier was An-
nibal to prouoke and keere him to the
same. Wherfore leauinge his ennemyes
on the left hand, he went toward Fes-
truxia, where he shewed the Consull as
great

The warres betwene the
great waste, destruction, and spoiling
his frendes as he might, both by robbing
slaughter and burninge: to thintent
should thereby the rather be prouoked
battayle. Flaminius of his owne na-
ture was geuen to be busy, although his
ennemye would haue bene quiete and re-
st, but when he sawe the goodes of his
frendes caried away: & his neighbour
hourned before his face: thinking it di-
honour vnto him, to see Anniball wan-
der through the middes of Italye, taking
his pleasure withoute any resistance,
determined incontinent to geue battail
although manye of his men perswaded
him, that he should tarye the cominge
of his felowe the other Consull, so that
they should with both theyr commyn-
and hostes together, procede vnto the
enterpryse agaynst Anniball: and at the
mean time with the horsemen, and light
harneyed footemen, to let him from his
robbing and destroyenge the countrey.
But he contrarye to the aduertisement
that was geuen him, beinge angrye,
rushed forth of the counsell house, & quick-
ly caused the banners and standerdes to be
displayde, and lefte him selfe vpon his
horse

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses.
horse, but incontinent the horse sodainly
fell, and caste the Consull to the earthe
whiche unluckie beginning caused those
that were presente, greatlye to feare the
successe thereof.

Of the battayle of Trasimenus, with the death
of the Consull Flaminius, and manye
other Romaynes. Cap. xvi.

Anniball this while destroyed
and wasted by cruell warre, all
the felldes that were betwene
the cites of Cortona, and the
lake of Trasimenus, thinking the hear-
tes of his ennemies the sooner to be mo-
ued to redresse the iniuries of theyr fren-
des. And they came to a place meete for
treason and disceyte, where as the great
lake or fenne of Trasimenus did almost
ioyne vnto the hilles of Cortona. There
was at that place one onely strait and na-
rowe way to enter in, but afterward the
felldes wared a lytell broder and larger.
Quer that playne the hilles arose of a
great heyghte. In the same fayre and
playne place Anniball pitched his campe
where

where he only with the Affricaanes and Spaniards did rest. The rest of the light harneysed men of the army: he brought about the backe of the hilles. And he disposed the horsemen nere to the mouth of the narrowe entree, where the hils might secretly couer and hide them: commaunding, that as soone as the Romaynes were ones passed the straites, the horsemen shoulde appeare at theyr backes, so that they shoulde be inclosed and hemmed in on all partes, hauinge no waye to escape, by reason of the hylles and great lake.

¶ Flaminius so knowing his ennemyes was come about the setting of the sonne to the lake: And the next day early in the morning, when it was scarcely day light he with his host were passed the straites. And when his people beganne to strafe abroad into y^e larger field, they sawe al the place before them occupied with theyr ennemyes: And than they aperceyued treason both behynde theym, and ouer theyr heades. When Anniball knowynge his ennemyes to be inclosed with the lake and hilles on the one syde, whych he desired, and also compassed aboute with his

with his army on the other side, he gaue signe to his men sodeynlye, to invade theyr ennemies: which his commaundement they anon with all diligence executed, runninge downe from the hil and assailing the Romains on all partes. One thing much amased the Romains by the sodaine and straunge change thereof: there arose from the brode lake a myste thicke and darker than the hilles in appearance, which letteth them of the syghte and true knowledge of the manner of theyr ennemies iualsion. The noyse of the sodayne effraye arose amonge them, before they perceiued theim selues to be betrayed and hemmed in: And the battayle was begonne bothe before and on both sides, before that they coulde be put in good araye, or take theyr armour and draw theyr swordes.

¶ The Consul Flaminius, when al his people were thus oppressed wyth feare, he hym selfe as a man of greate courage and lttel affrayde, ordered his troubled compaignie, and set them in order as well as the tyme and place wolde serue hym, still exhortynge theim by all the meanes he myght, to abyde and to fight, shewing them,

The warrres betwene the
theym, that it booteth theym not to praye
and calle on theyr goddes, or to make
bowes to theym for theyr deliuerance.
There was now no waye for theym
to escape but by strength and hardynesse.
there was no waye than to be made, but
with the sword: and the lesse feare they
dought take, the lesse leopardy and peryll
shoulde they be in. But the noyse was
so greaite, that the wordes and coun-
saile of theyr Capytaine coulde not be
hearde. And they were so dysmayed
that they skarselye knewe theyr stand-
des and places to repayre vnto. They
hadde scaute hertes to drawe theyr wea-
pons: theyr harneys was rather a bur-
then to them than a defence. They might
heare muche noyse and clamoure of those
that were wounded, but lyttell coulde
they see. Some fledde, and in the fleyng
happened to fall into companies of Roma-
nes that fought earnestlye, & by the were
slayed from further fleyng. Some were
comminge towarde the battayle, and by
the discomfiture of suche as they mette,
whiche fledde awaye, were discouraged
and fled also. But at the laste, whan they
perceyued no waye to escape, than felle
they

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 45
they earnestly to fighting, not keeping or-
der or aray, but by companyes, as it hap-
ped them to falle together. Whan be-
ganne the battayle to be fyerce in al par-
tes, and endured almoste three howres,
and euery where verie cruell, but moste
daungerous aboute the consull. For the
strength of the host folowed hym: And on
whatsoeuer parte he sawe his men in
daunger, quicklye and diligently he re-
scued them: And he beinge verye valiant,
both mightily assailed his enemies, and
defended his citzens, vntyl one of Insu-
bria, called Ducarius, knowynge bothe
his horse and his face, sayde to his com-
pany: Here is the Consull, that not longe
agone confounded oure legyons, and dy-
stroyed bothe oure ctytes and sydes,
nowe shall I sende his soule to the com-
pany of our frendes, that he al redy hath
slayne: and bytynge his horse wyth the
spurres, he ranne violently throughe the
thickest of his enemyes route, fleyng
a quyre, whiche mette hym unhap-
pyly in the waye. And afterwarde wyth
his speare, ranne the Consull throughe
the bodye, and had spoyled hym, had not
the stronge companye of the Romayne
knyghtes

The warres betwene the
knyghtes wythstande hym. After
death began the Romaynes to flee on
partes, and than nother bylles nor lab
coude lette them: they wandred as blind
men throughe the straites & ouer the ro
kes, some fallinge one ouer another. And
whan they coude finde none other way
they toke the next way through the fen
nes, runnyng into the water ouer head
and shulders, and were for the most part
drowned. Thus was the dangerous
battayles at Trasymenus. xv. M. Ro
mains were slayne in the battayle, and
x. M. sparkled abroad by dyuers wayes,
came to Rome. A. M. and. v. C. of the Car
thaginenses were slayne in that battaille
and manye dyed after by reason of theyr
woundes, whych they had. Anniball de
liuered all the prisoners of Italye wyth
out raunsome, but the Romans he kept
in prison. Than commanded he the bod
yes of his company that were deade, to
be disseuered from the other, and buried.
He sought the bodye of Flaminius wyth
greate diligence, to haue buried it, but he
coude not fynde it. Whan the newes of
this great slaughter was first knowne at
Rome, the people assembled with greate
fear

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 46
are and rumoure in the market place,
gathering into companies, to knowe the
truth therof. And a litel before the sonne
setting. Marcus Pomponius pretoz said:
With great bataile we are ouercome: and
though the people herde hym saye no
woe of certaintye, yet by receiuinge the
newes one of another, they filled the hole
cittie with tidinges, that the consul, with
a great part of the host, was slayne, and
that fewe were lefte on liue, but were o
ther chased abroad, or taken of theyr ene
mies. The women chye selfe
made eyther greate ioye for theyr frendes
that escaped, or els greate sorowe for
the deathe and captiuitie of theym that
were slayne and taken. It was said, that
one woman whan she herde sodeynlye,
that her sonne came home and escaped
from the battaille, so ioy dyed at the gate
of the citee. And an other, to whome it
was shewed falselye, that hir chyld was
slayne, she abode in hir house very sorow
ful, but whā he came home to hir sodaine
lye, she at the first syght of him for greate
ioye dyed. The pretoz kepte the senate
for certayne daies from the sonne rising.
So the sonne set, counsailing what capi
taynes,

The warres betwene the
Romynges, and what hostie they might haue
to wythstand the Carthaginenses: but be-
fore they had made any certayne determi-
nation of theyr busines, they had tidyn-
ges of an other newe slaughter, whych
was, that. iiii. thousand horsemen, which
were sent by Serullius the other consull
to Flamminius, vnder the gouernace of
ene. C. Centronius. After they herde of
the battayle of Trasymenus, they retur-
ned backe, and in Umbria were betrayed
by Anniball, and destroyed. Which thing
troubled the myndes of the people mer-
uaylously. They were in greate trouble
and feare, the consulle and heade officers
being absent, vnto whome they scarcely
durste sende theyr letters for feare of the
Carthaginenses, who were almost spred
ouer all Italye. Wherefore they made
Quintus Fabius Maximus Prodicta-
tor, that was ruler of the Commons,
and Marcus Rufus Minutius mayster
of the horsemen, to these it was geuen
in charge by the Senate, to establishe and
make sure the walles and towres of
the citee, and to fortifye suche places, as
they shoulde thinke conuenient. Also to
bryake the bridges, that were ouer the
and

Romynges and the Carthaginenses. 47
waters and to prouyde for the keepynge of
theyr houses and citee, seinge they coude
not defend Italye.

How Anniball by a craftye deceite escaped the
straites of Forumiana, wherin he was en clo-
sed by Q. Fabius Maximus. Ca. xvi.

Aniball came in the meane sea-
son by Umbria to Spoletum,
destroyng & burning al before
him. Than beganne he to laye
siege to the towne but he was dyquen-
tise with greate slaughter of his men.
Wherefore supposing the citee of Rome to
be of a great strength, seinge that lyttell
towne was so strong, whose strength and
power he than not very prosperously had
assailed, he withdrew his armye to the
plentyful countrey of Picenus, and from
thence to Pelignes, to Arpos, and to Lu-
peria, a countrey adioyning to Apula, stil
robbyng and spoylynge the countreys a-
bode in the waye as he went.

When Fabius, whom the Romaines
had chosen high officer, had set all thinge
at a stay in Rome, he (takynge wyth him
the armye, & before was w Serullius the
consul, & also. ii. other newe Romaine legions
for

for the encreasynge of hys armye) went
 with the mayster of the horsemen Minu-
 tius, to mete with Anniball, and to staye
 hym from the destruction of the countrey.
 Fabius committynge nothyng rashely to
 fortune by easy iourneys and good espies
 came into the fieldes of Arpos, pitchynge
 his campe not farre from hys enemyes.
 Annibal soone after his coming, brought
 his people into the felde in good array
 to fight: but Fabius all that daye kept
 his men in their campe, wherupon Annib-
 all rebukynge the feble courage of the
 romans, withdrew his people into their
 tentes, fearynge in hys mynde the sobe-
 rnes of Fabius: whiche was a capitayne
 chosen, farre vnlke to Sempzonius or
 Flamminius. Neuerthelesse to proue the
 facion and conducte of Fabius, Anniball
 very oftentimes remoued his campe, and
 euer spoiled the countreys of the friendes
 of the Romaynes as he went: Somtyme
 he wolde sodainly conuey his armye: and
 than secretly tourne out of the way, and
 lye in a wayte, if by chaunce he myghte
 take his enemyes at auantage: but Fa-
 bius euer ledde his hoste by the high pla-
 ces of the countreys still keepynge his en-
 enemyes

enemyes in fyghte, so that he would not be
 farre from theym: yet intended he not to
 geue them battayle, his men went neuer
 out of theyr campe, but onely for the pro-
 uision of thinges necessarye. And whan
 they lacked vitayles, forage, or woodde,
 he sente a greate numbze together, that
 they mighte walke surelye. And also
 those that went therefore, he suffered not
 to stray farre from the hoste. He had euer
 his horsemen and light barneyed foote-
 men in a readinesse and in aray, for feare
 of sodayne inuasions of his enemyes.
 And also to thintent they should be ready
 to oppresse his foes, y at any time should
 come abrode for spoile or for vitayles, he
 minded neuer to leoparde the hole estate
 of the empire in open battayle, but he re-
 mayned still as a flaye to weary his ene-
 mies. Whiche his sobrenes was no lesse
 displeasaunt to Anniball, than it was to
 Minutius, the maister of the horsemen.
 For he beinge rathe and desirous to put al
 in auenture, first prauely, & than openly
 openly disprayed the slackenes of Fabi-
 us, calling him both slowe and fearefull.
 Anniball ofte remouing, came from Ar-
 pos to Samnium, wasting the felde of

the Beneuentanes, and there he toke the towne of Miletia, trustinge by the shew of so much displeasure, to cause Fabius to geue him battaile. There came to him the same time thre gentlemen of Italy whom Annibal had before at the battaile of Trasimenus taken prisoners, and deliuered to libertie wpythout raunsome. These men shewed him, that in case he would conuaye his armye into Campania, they would helpe him with small payne to winne the noble citee of Capua. To this their motion Annibal at length agreed, sendinge theym to Capua before hym, to steere the mindes of the rulers and of the commons thereto, and to retourne, brynging him the certaintye of their speede. When commaunded he his guyde to leade hym the nexte waye to the felde of Cassinus, hauninge knowledge by diuers experte men of the same countrey, that if he were ones mayster of the hill and straye there, he should stoppe the Romaines from brynginge anye succours to theyr men, but that he should at his pleasure destroy them. But the guyde mistaking the name of the countrey, toke Casilinus for their Cassinus. Wherefore

leading

leading him a wrong way, he conducted him by the countreyes of Alifinus, Calatinus, & Calenus, to the fieldes of Stelates. When Annibal beheld that countrey, to be on all partes enclosed with mountaynes and riuers, he inquired of his guide, in what region he then was? He answered againe, that the same day he wold bryng him to Cassinus. Whereat Annibal beinge displeased, caused him to be sore beaten with rodde: and after changed for the example of other. When seeinge that he was so farre from his purpose, he thought in reuenging of his malice, to bourne and spoyle that plentifull countrey about the riuer of Volturnus. By this time was Fabius come by the hills, to the topp of Mafficus the mountaine: where the Romaynes myghte behold the Carthaginenses lodged in the paye playnes vnder theym, who ceased not to spoyle the felde of Falernus, and to burne the houses of Simeffa. This displeasure entred earnestly into the heart of Minutius: who aboue other maligned at the cowardise of the dictatour Fabius. And by an oration ful of great inuectiues set the heartes of the moste parte of the

W. ii.

hoste

The warres betwene the
host agaynst him. But all their murmur-
ring Fabius litell esteeming, continued
the rest of the sommer in his olde faction,
euer keeping Anniball from battayle, the
thing that he most desyzed. When the
winter beganne to drawe nere, Fabius
perceiuing the countrey not to be able to
susteyne the hoste of his ennemies any
long season, and that there was none o-
ther waye for them to passe out of the fel-
des of Falernus, but onely by the same
strayte wayes, by which they before had
entred, he sendinge sufficiente power of
Romaynes to the hill of Callicula, and
the towne of Casilinas: him selfe, with
the maister of the horsemen kepte the na-
rowe waye, by which Anniball must
needes passe. Anniball willinge to proue
the maner of keeping of that strayte cam-
thither, and there made a skirmishe with
the Romaynes, somewhat to his losse,
and was fayne to recule backe. And by
perceyuinge the Romaynes to haue the
Samnites and the Campanes their friends
bes at their backes, redy to succour them
with all necessities, and that he and his
hoste were so enclosed, that he was like
to winter amonge the stones of Fozmina

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 50
na, and the sandes of Linterni: he forgat
not then to renewe his accustomed sub-
tiltee and craft. He inuented a deceyte
and mockeri, very feareful to mens sight
whereby he might passe the straytes by
stealth in the night, he caused rotten stic-
kes, and dry pieces of wood, to be gathe-
red together in the feldes, and faggottes
of yonge rodde and bowes to be made,
which he caused to be tyed to the hornes
of oren and kine, which he had before ta-
ken at a praye in the countrey, some be-
inge wilde, and some tame. There were
ii. thousande beastes, that should be thus
ordred. And the charge was committed
to Hasdruball, that he shoulde in the be-
ginning of the darkenes of the night, set
the fagottes on fyre, that were on the hor-
nes of the beastes: and then to dryue the
to the hilles and straytes, specially aboue
the waye, which the Romaynes kepte.
Then in the beginning of the nighte, se-
cretely he caused his men to remoue their
campe, drining the oren a litell before the
standerdes, but when they came to the
foote of the hill, and to the narrowe waye
he commaunded the fagottes on the bea-
stes hornes to be sette on fyre. At which
done

The warres betwene the


borne, the feare of the flaming fire aboute their heades, and the heate coming to the quicke and lower parte of the hornes of the beasts, caused the to runne as though they had bene mad, With which sodaine running the yong roddes toke a burning euen as though the woods and hilles had bene on fire: and the mouing of their heades, causyng the flame to spredde abrode, shewed like as it had bene men running abrode with fire. When those that were set at the entring of the passage sawe the fyre on the hygh hilles aboue theym, supposyng that they had bene betrayde, lefte the place assigned them to kepe, and fled to their succoures, seking the best way by the toppes of the hilles, by whyche the great flame and blase diode shine, where they chaunced vpon certayne oren straped from theyr flocke. And when at the fyre they sawe as it were liuinge thynges, bzeathing fyre and flames, they stood as astonied with the sight. But after perceyvinge the crafte to be made and conueyed by men, then supposinge that there was treason, with greate noyse and rumour they toke them to flyghte. Fabius also,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses.

51

also, seinge this mockery, fearing decepte kepte his people within his campe till it was day. Thus in the night, while they were astonied wyth this straunge sighte. Anniball passed the prayte passage withoute daunger, and pitched his campe in the fiede of Alianus.

Cneius Scipio, sygheth wyth Hasdrubal and Himilco on the sea, vppon the coastes of Spayne, byueth theym to land, taketh and destroyeth fise and twenty shippes, with a greate numbre of the Carthaginenses.
Capi. xlii.

fter thys harde escape oute of daunger, Hanniball ledde his armye, as though he woulde haue gone towarde Rome, by the

the fieldes of the Samnites, robbing and burninge vnto the Pelignes, and from thens retourned towarde Apulia. And Fabius set his tentes betwene the citie of Rome and his ennemies, neyther going from theym, nor geuinge them battayle, till in short space after he was called to Rome, for because of the sacrifice that should be done to the goddess. Before his departing, he not onely exhorted Minutius, mayster of the horsemen, who he left with his army, but also strenghtly commaunded him, that he shoulde in no wise haue to do with his enemies, for any occasion that shoulde be geuen him: and that he should better truste to counsaile than to fortune: and that he should rather folowe his aduise, being his cappytaine, then vse the trade of Sempronius and Flaminius, shewing the daungers of it by examples. Also he declared to him the discepte of theyr enemies. And when he had geuen him these exhortations in bayne, he departed to Rome.

In the beginninge of sommer, whyles those thinges were done in Italye, great warre begun in Spaine. Hasdrubal departed vnto himilco, xl. sail, wel furnished

for the warre, and him selfe with a great number of shippes, also departed from Carthage, and sailed into Spaine, where after he was arryued and landed his host he set his shippes at the shore, nere to the land, and pitched his campe on the land, being redy to fight with his ennemies, where so euer he found them on lande or water. Scipio, after he came from the wintering thought to haue gone on his enemies vpon the land, but when he heard of theyr succours, that were comme to them, he durst not mete them on lande, but chose a number of good souldiours, and made redye. xxxv. sayle for to meete them on the water, thinkinge to assaile them sodeinlye, er they shoulde be able to ordeyne all thing for their defence. Altho Hasdrubal had knowledge of theyr coming, by reason of high towers made in diuers places of Spaine, from whence they maye see farre of on the sea, there arose a great noise and feare amonge bys hoise in theyr tentes, for such as were on the land, and thoughte littell to haue had battaile that day: he commaunded to make hast to theyr shippes, whiche they dyd obey, and him selfe came hastily after. And

When

The warres betwene the
whan they came to the water, the souldi-
ours so troubled the sypmen, and the
sypmen the souldiours, that none of the
could araye them selues, and set in order
thynges necessarye for theyr busines.
Whyles this rumoure lasted, the Ro-
mans not onely were at hande, but also
redye to fighte. The Carthaginenses no
more troubled with theyr enemies than
with theyr owne rumour, were shortly
ouercome and fledde: and at the first con-
flict the Romans took two shippes, and
drowned. iiii. And although the Romanes
sawe all the shore occupied with men
of armes, yet were they not aferde, but
folowed theyr ennemyes shippes slieng,
in so muche that of. rrr. sayle they took
and destroyed. rrb. And with this greate
praye wente agayne to the sea, and lan-
ded at Tarraco, where Scipio taried not
long, but that his brother. P. Scipio ar-
riued there also, sente by the senate wyth
a greate manye, to the nnumber of. rrrb.
shippes, and. viii. P. souldiours, wyth
greate store of stufte and ordynance.
Whan the two betherne were associate
together, there was nothinge that theyd
withholde the willes & hertes of the peo-
ple

Romanes and the Carthaginenses. 51
ple of Spayne from the frendship of the
Romans, sauing they feared the trespass
shoulde be reuenged on theyr chyldernes
blood, which were left as pledges by An-
nibal at Sagunt.

How Accur, a spaniard, by treason conueyde
the pledges of Spayne from the Carthage-
nenses, and deliuered them to the Ro-
manes. Cap. xix.

Whan was there in Sagunte a
noble spaniard, called Accur,
who before that tyme had bene
very faithfull to the Carthagi-
nenses: but thā (as it is the facion of ma-
ny of the common sort of men) whan for-
tune fayled, bys saythe lykwyse chaun-
ged. He imagyned wyth hym selfe, what
waye he myghte beste attayne the frend-
shippe of the Romanes. After manye
sundrye Imagynacions, he thoughte so-
nest to brynge it aboute, yf he myghte
finde the meanes, to deliuer them those
noble mens chyldren, which were left at
Sagunt as pledges and suerties. For by
that meanes he thoughte the Romanes
might best win the hertes of the princes of
Spayne. But this enterpryse he thought
he could not compasse, onlesse he myghte
obteine

obtaine the fauoure of one Bostar, who lay encamped without the citee vpon the shore of the riuer, with a good number of Spaniards, for the sure keeping of the citee, and to stoppe the Romaynes the enter that waye from the haven, wythoute whose commandement he knew well the keepers of the pledges wolde nothing do. Than Acedur thought with crafte to assey Bostar, & wente to the campe where he lay, desyryng secretely to speake wyth hym: And first he began to shew hym the daunger that the countrey was in, considering the strong army of the Romayns, whiche was then at hande. He shewed hym also, that the Spaniards had so long continued in the frendshyp of the Carthaginenses, for feare more than for loue. And all by cause the Romaine army was so farre from them: but nowe syns they were come ouer Iberus, it was to be feared, lest they wolde all yelde them selues vnto Scipio. Wherefore he desyred hym to worke wysely therein.

When Bostar demanded of hym, what he wolde haue him to do for remedy thereof, he answered: I wolde aduise you, to send the children of the noble men whom ye

ye haue as pledges in this towne to their parentes frendes and citie: so shal ye get all theyr hertes and loues by this kyndenes shewynge, whiche ye can neuer get with feare. For when they synde, that ye put trust in them, ye shall the more binde them to be faithfull. And I my selfe wyll gladly take the pryne to deliuer agayne the pledges to theyr frendes: & so worke, that I wyll get theyr hertes to you much more than ye nowe haue. Bostar, meaning all trueth and plainnes, was enone perswaded to the same purpose, & graunted him the conduite of the sureties. Then went Acedur priuily to Scipio his tentes, and there declared vnto him the good wyll that he bare towarde hym and the Romaines: And appointed with him the time and place of deliury of the pledges. Then went Acedur agayne to Bostar, of whom he receyued speciall commaundementes and tokens to the keepers of the pledges, to goe with hym, takynge wyth them the pledges, when he wolde requyre them. Then shewed he the keepers of the children, that he would departe from the citee in the nyghte, to thintent that the better to escape the daunger of the watches

The warres betwene the
ches of the Roman hofte. Wherefore he
wylled theym to be redye to ryde wyth
hym, whā he called on them at an hofwe
certayne in the nyghte folowynge: They
as innocentes in the matter, made all
thynges redye to depart at the hofwe ap-
poynted: at whych hofwe he fayled not
to come. Thus departed he from the cy-
tes, bothe with the chyldezen and also the
keepers, and ere they were ware, he ledde
them amonge a noubur of Romaynes,
that by his crafty appoyntemente were
layde in imbushements for the same pur-
pose: where they were all taken, and
broughte to Scipio, who deliuered the
pledges to theyr cities and frends: wher-
by he gat the loue of the moze parte of the
cities of Spayne: so that they were re-
dy to take armour to the ayde of the Ro-
maynes, whan soeuer Scipio commaun-
ded them. These thynges were done
in Spayne, the seconde yere of the
warre betwene the Carthagi-
nenses and the Ro-
maynes.

(.)

fa

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 55

¶ Fabius being at Rome in displeasure, Minu-
tius maister of the hofsemen fightinge wyth
Anniball, putterh hym to the worke, and
therefore is made halfe ruler of the
hofte wyth Fabius, he fighteth
wyth hym agayne, and is put
to flighte, and rescued by
Fabius. Cap. xx.

Now let vs retorne to Fabius,
who by his wise absteyning fro
battaile had saued manye of the
Romains fro death. Neuerthe-
lesse it was thoughte at Rome by manye,
that his hert failed him, and that he trif-
led forth the time, onely to thintente hys
empire & rule might the longer continue
and that he cared not, what cost the cites
were at, in finding so great an armye, so
that he mighte be at rest with honoure.
Thus had he gotten manye enemyes at
Rome. And to encrease their malice to-
ward him, Anniball wrought a meruay-
lous subtiltes, he set a number of his men
to spoile the cuntrey, & commaunded them
in any wise to do no hurt to the landes of
Fabius, of whiche he gat the knowledge
by certayne that were fledde to hym from
the Roman army. This did he, to the in-
tent

tent it shuld be thoughte, that some secret
bargaine or conspiracie was made be-
twene hym and Fabius. Whiche crafty
acte of Anniball caused Fabius to be the
more suspect to the senate of Rome. But
to take awaye that suspicion from him,
Fabius sente his sonne, and solde the
grounde or fildes, whiche were not vio-
lated by Anniballes subtiltee. So we for-
tuned it also to encrease Fabius euyl wil
at Rome, that after his departinge from
the hoste, Minutius, the mayster of the
horsemen, beinge left to guide the army,
caused the campe and tentes, which were
by Fabius set safe in the hygh hylls, to
be brought downe and pitched in the low
valeys: And there they were dysposed af-
ter the discrecion of the capitaine, thyn-
kyng epyther to make a skymishe wyth
them that went abrode to robbe, or els to
inuade them that were left behind in the
tentis. Annibal, knowyng that he shulde
kepe warre with a captaine much unlike
the other, and that hys ennemyes wolde
order their busynes more quickely than
hys selfe, and perceyuinge his enemyes to
drawe more nere vnto him: he sente the
thyrd parte of his souldiours to robbe and
wast

waste the countreyes, the other. it partes
he kept within theyr tentes. When remo-
ued he his campe more nere to the Ro-
maynes, and abode vpon a certayne hill,
where as the Romayne hoste might per-
ceyue, y they were ready to succour their
robbers, if any assaut were made on the.
This did he of purpose, to entyle the Ro-
maynes to battaille. Then coude Minu-
tius no longer forbear, but sent a good
numbre of horsemen, to assaile the rob-
bers, who destroyed manye of the y were
sparkled abroad seeking theyr pray. Then
came Anniball to the rescue of his men.
But fortune so serued the Romans, that
as they were most busye in fighting, one
Pumerius Decimus, a capitaine of the
Samnites came to the succour of the Ro-
mans with. viii. M. footmen, & ii. C. horse-
men, by whose helpe they bet Annibal to
his cape, & slew. vi. M. of hys men, whiche
glad tidinges Minutius (although he had
lost in the same battel. ii. M. of his owne
men) sent in his booyng letters to Rome
where with the citee was much comforted.
Notwithstandinge Fabius (when all the
citee was mery) would neither beleue the
newes nor the letters. At the last he sayd

The warres betwene the
if all were trewe, he rather feared their
prosperous aduenture, than reioysed
therin. Which sayeng caused him greatly
to be hated of the citezens, and Marcus
Metellus, openly rebuked Fabius there-
fore, sayeng, that he kept his mē in their
camps, more like captiues and pris-
oners, the men of warre. Specially it was
not to be suffered that he beinge presente
would not only suffer nothing to be done
bailantly against his enemies, but now
also being absent, held agaynst the thing
that was wel done bi his maister of horse
men. Fabius answered but fewe wordes
for he thought they should be euell heard:
but he said, that where. ii. yeres passe, the
citee had susteyned great harmes & losse,
through the foolish hardinesse of the go-
uernours, he doubted not, but if he might
beare rule and haue his minde, he would
make it euident to all men, that fortune
could litell do or worke against a good ca-
pitaine, but y wisdom & reason shoulde
haue the dominion ouer all hir chances.
He saide further, y he had saued his hoste
from a cruell enemy, in all this perillous
time without harme or shame: which he
thought, ought more to be praysed, than
to kill a great number of enemies. But in

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 69
conclusion, the determination of the Se-
nate was, y M. Atilius Regulus shoulde
be Consul in the place of Flaminius:
And that Minutius, the mayster of the
horsemen (who so noblye had gouerned
his army) shoulde be halfe ruler of the host
with Fabius, and the gouernaunce there-
of to be parted betwene them.
With these displeasāt actes of the senate
Fabius retourned to his army, trusting,
that although Minutius shold haue halfe
the rule wyth him, yet shoulde he wante
the pollicie and maner of orderinge his
part of the army to him comitted: whiche
pollicye, by exercise and great trauaile he
had obteyned. Minutius perceyuing him-
selfe to be had in such estimatiō at Rome
as wel with the Senatours, as wyth the
commons, where he was before a lytell
proude, he then beganne to take muche
more on him, boasting him selfe, that in
theyr great calamitie, he alone was found
out a capitaine able to matche Anniball.
And the began he to deuise of the parting
of theyr empire or rule. He woulde haue
had it so parted, that one day or one weeke
he shoulde haue ruled all: And one other
daye or weke, Fabius to rule all, and so
I. ii. to

The warres betwene the
to take the hole gouernaunce by tourne.
That would Fabius none of: but would
haue the army parted betwene the, with
the ordinances and other necessities.
Saying, that in case he could not by his
counsaile saue the hole host, yet he would
assaye to saue the halfe thereof, as wel as
he might And on that poynt they agreed
and thereupon deuised their companies
or legions, and also theyr camps. This
debate and order of the Romayne Capi-
taynes was knowne to Anniball by es-
spyes as were al other thinges that were
done in the tentes of his enemies, which
tidinges brought to him double ioy. One
was, for that he thoughte to vanquish
the foolish hardines of Minutius euē as
he would him selfe. The other was, for
that halfe the strengthe of Fabius was
minished, by reason of the partinge of
the hoste. Then was there a hille be-
twene the hoste of Hanniball, and the
hoste of Minutius, which hille whosoever
had gotten, shoulde be able to do muche
displeasure to his enemies. Anniball
desyred not so muche to take it withoute
battaile, (although the occupacion there-
of shoulde be to him very necessarye) as to
make

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 61
make it an occasion of battaile to Minu-
tius: whom, he wiske well, would euer
run to withstande his enterpryse, in the
attayning thereof. A feilde there was in
the middell, betwene him and the sayde
hill, whiche fieide was verye playne and
saye, and appeared muche vnnicete for
treason, to hide any embushement in, be-
cause it was neyther couered with wood
shrubbes, nor bushes. It semed therefore
a place rather meete to descrye treason
than to hide it, for that in a playne and
bare valey no suche deceyte might be fea-
red. But then Anniball espyed, that in
the bottome of the sayde hill were diuers
caues and holowe places in the rockes, of
whych some were able to receyue and
hide. ii. hundred souldiours armed. In
these darke caues Hanniball hid. v. thou-
sande footemen and horsemen: notwith-
standing leaſt the noyse or the bryghtnes
of the harneys might happen to discover
his disceyte, he sente a fewe in numbze
the next morning to take the foresayd hill
whereby he withdrew the eyes of his e-
nemies from loking to that place of em-
bushement. When the compaignie that
went to the hill were perceiued by the Ro-
magnes

The warres betwene the
maines, to be so fewe in number they set
nought by the, & euery man coueted to go
to dyne their enemies from that hil. And
also the Capitayne no lesse foolyshe then
they, called his men to harneys, threate-
ning his ennemies with bayne wordes.
Fyrste he sent light harnessed yong men:
then he sent forth horsemen, which were
a great compaigne: laste of all, him selfe
cometh with his whole armye. And as
Anniball sawe occasion, and the battaille
encrease, he sente euer of his men bothe
footemen & horsemen, to succour his peo-
ple, so that the battaille was furnished on
both partes, and wared very strong.
The Romaines were thought to be of a
great boldenes and courage, and shoulde
haue done well, if the battaille had bene
equall handled, they were so encouraged
with their late victoie: but sodaynelpe
came those that were hydde in the caues
forth on the, makinge great clamour and
rumoure on their sides & backes, so that
they surprised with feare, had neither har-
tes to fight, nor hope to flye. When Fa-
bius first hearing the noise, and after se-
ing the host troubled & farre of. Fortune
(sayd he) hath caught their folly, no soner
than

Romaines and the Carthaginians. 62
than I feared it woulde, nowe be that is
ioyned with Fabius in the empire, hath
found Anniball ouer hard for him, both in
power, and also in Fortune. But it is
not nowe time (sayd he) to chide, I wil re-
ferre that, till more oportunitie. When
caused he his men to display their baners
beyond the valey, and in good aray came
forwarde to the helpe of his felowes, of
whych some were fled, and some ready to
fle, so that they all thought, that he came
as it were one sent from heauen to theyr
succours. And befoze he shoulde come to
the casting of dartes, or to hande strokes,
Anniball called backe his men from cha-
sing any further their enemies that fled,
and sodaynelpe withdrew him to his
campe, sayeng, that he had overcome Mi-
nutius, but that he was also overcome of
Fabius. When many of the Romain ar-
mie, that by fleing were scatered & spar-
kled abode, ranne to the hoste of Fabius
many other that did fle before theyr ene-
mies, tourned agayne to theyr compa-
nye: so that there was almoste one bat-
taille of theym that were overcome, and
of them that ranne to their succours.
When the most part of the day was spent
vnder

The warres betwene the
vnder the variable standerde of fortune,
and that the hostes were come to their
owne tentes. Minutius (his souldiours
being gathered about him) sayde.

Minutius
oration. I oftentimes louing souldiours & friendes

Des heard saye, that he is most wyse that
can geue counsaile, and tell what is to
be done in his busines. and that he is
next wyse, that can obey him that geueth
good counsaile: but he that can neyther
geue good counsaile him selfe: nor obey
other mens counsaile, is of al other most
abiect and foolish. For we therefore, se-
ing that the gyfte of these giftes fortune
hath denyed vs, let vs kepe the seconde,
and whyles we learne to rule, let vs pur-
pose with our selues to obey them that
be wyse. Wherefore let vs ioyne our ten-
tes with Fabius: and whē ye shall heare
me salute him as my parent and father,
you likewise shal salute his souldiours
as your noble patrons, by whose strength
and hardines this day ye are preserved.

Thus incontinent they remoued their
campe, and wente to the campe of Fabi-
us, whereof he marueyled not a litell.

When theyr legions were mette toge-
ther, and salutations had, after longe
protesta-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 63

protestacion made by Minutius to Fa-
bius, they toke eyther other by the han-
des, and the souldiours lyke wyse enter-
taining gentilly the one the other. Where
Minutius submitted him and his men to
be vnder the protection of Fabius, re-
signinge cleane the auctoritee of the em-
pyre and rule into his handes, whiche he
accompted to be to hym a burthen rather
than honour: desyryng him that he might
be agayne in the office of the mayster of
horsemen, as he was before. When this
was knowen at Rome, and affirmed to
be true, not only by the letters of the ca-
pitaynes, but also of the souldiours of
both partes, the praise of Fabius was e-
leuate to the heauens, and he had no lesse
praise of Annibal and his hoste, who as
than selte, that they had to doe with the
Romaynes, and that they kept warre in
Italy. For the two yerres past, they so lit-
tell dyd esteeme bothe the Capitaynes of
Rome, and also the souldiours, that they
coude scarsely beleue, that they foughte
with those people, whome they had hard
of theyr fathers, were so much to be doub-
ted. And it was sayde, that Annibal go-
ing from the battayle dyd saye, that than
at

The warres betwene the
at length the cloude, whyche howered
longe on the highe hylles, sent downe his
perillous storme.

Of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and. C. Terentius
Varro consules, and the oration of
M. Fabius Maximus to Paulus, be-
fore his departinge from Rome, to-
ward his host. Capit. xxi.

At longe after Lucius Aemili-
us Paulus, and. C. Terentius
Varro were chosen consules.
And after that al other officers
were chosen, the army was augmented,
to euery legion a thousand footemen and
one hundred horsemen. What the num-
ber was of the new host is scarcely agreed
amonge wyters. Some holde, that they
were of the Romaynes. lxxxvii. M. CC.
whan the battayle was holden at Can-
nas. C. Terentius, before he depar-
ted the citee, openly made dyuers oraci-
ons, wherein he declared, that the warre
in Italy was through certayne of the no-
ble men of the cytee, whych warre should
longe tyme contynewe among them, yf
they shuld haue many such capitaines as

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 64
M. Fabius was. For yf he had done his
deuoyce as a good capytayne, Anniball
had bene subuerted longe before. But he
promysed, that he woulde end the warre
the same daye that he should fyrst meete
wyth his ennemye. And the nexte daye
before that they departed oute of the cy-
tee, Lucius Aemilius his felow made
also one Oracion to the people, whyche
was moore trewe thanne thanckesfull
vnto the Cytezens: In the whyche
he spake nothyng agaynst Teren-
tius Varro his felowe, but that he mer-
uayled, howe anye Capytayne beyng
in the citee, should know, what he should
doe whan he were armed in the field, be-
fore he knewe other his owne hoste, or
the hoste of his ennemyes, and the place
where they should fight, or the nature of
the region or countrey: and how he could
appoynt his spede the daye, wherein he
shoulde fighte wyth his ennemies. After
these words, whan he was redy to depart
with his compayne, Fabius staying him
for a season, said to him as foloweth.
If thou, good Lucius Aemilius, were
matched with a felowe, that were lyke
vnto thee, or yf thou were lyke vnto thy
felow:

The warres betwene the
felowe, than were myne oracion all in
vaine, whych I wyll now make for you
both, beinge good consuls, wolde wolde
substantiallly and truely for the common
wealth, although I wolde styll holde my
peace. Againe, yf bothe you were euyl
Consuls, than wold neyther of you heare
my wordes, nor receiue my counsaile, but
knowyng the goodnes as I doe, and also
the condicions of thy companyon, I per-
ceyue, that thy goodnes shall littel auaille
the common welthe, throughe the folye of
thy felowe: so that the common welthe
bothe halte, and is halfe lame on the one
part: wherby euil counsel shall take place,
as wel as good counsel. Wherefore to the
onely now is mine oracion, warning the
before to be sure, that thou shalt haue as
much warre with thy felowe Terentius
as with Annibal. And I know not, whe-
ther of theim wyl bee more deadly enne-
mye to the. For thou shalt onely fighte
with Annibal in the field, but wyth thy
felowe thou shalt haue continuall warre
in all places, and at all times. With An-
nibal thou shalt fight with thy men both
on horsebacke and on fote, but Marro wil
assaye the with thine owne men. I pray
the

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 65
the remember. C. Flaminius, who be-
inge consul, and hauyng hys men aboute
hym in his hoste, beganne to ware mad.
This man, bothe before he was made
consull, and now beinge consul, euen here
in the senate house, before he see his field
or his ennemye, is all redy made. And
he that thus prateth amonge the Sena-
tours, what trowe you wyll he do, when
he shall be in the fiede amonge a sorte of
freshe yonge souldyours, where with one
worde speakyng, all the matter shall be
tried. But in case he make speede to fight,
as he saith he wyll bee, eyther I knowe
not what belongeth to the warres, or els
we are lyke to suffer greater lesse than
we had at Trasymenus. There is but
one waye to maynteine warre agaynste
Annibal: whych way I haue perceyued,
and none other waye shall be founde so
good to make hym weery of Italye. We
be in our countrey, hauing citices & feight-
ful felowes about vs, redy to helpe vs at
all tynes with horse, harneys, vitayles,
and all other necessities. Annibal on the
other syde is in a straunge countrey a-
monge hys ennemyes, farre from home,
farre from his countrey, he loketh for no
peace

The swarres betwene the
peace by sea noz lande, he hathe no cittyes
to receyue hym, he hathe nothyng but
that he stealeth, and taketh by rapine, he
hathe scarcely the thyrde parte of hys host
lefte, that he broughte ouer Iberus, mo
bee deade wyth sampne than with the
swoorde. And here with payne maye he
see the thole that he lefte on lyue. **W**here
foze neuer doubte, but in sittinge still, ye
shal ouercome such an army, that dayly
decreaseth in strength, and cannot be fur
nyshed of suche thynges as they lacke.
This is the onely waye to illude & moche
with your ennemies. **M**arro desireth bat
tyle, and that is also **A**nniballes desyre.
Therfore thou alone muste nedes wyse
ly stay agaynst them bothe, and regarde
not the fame and rumoure, that shal be
spoken of the: Lette not the bayne gloze
of thy felowe, noz the false name of that
shal be reised of the, moue the to y cōtra
rye. Suffer thy selfe to be called feare
full slowe and vnskyllfull of the warre.
Better it is to be feared of thy wyse en
nemye, than to be praysed of thy foolyshe
company. **B**ut I wolde not, that nothing
shoulde be done, but that if thou doe anye
thyng, do it soberly and accoꝝdyng to rea
son,

Romaynes and the Carthaginienes. 66
on, not rashely, trustyng to fortune, fo
w not the occasyō that thy enemye wyl
seue the. And be not ouer hasty. For hast
is blinde, and woꝝketh vnshurely.
To these and other his wordes the con
suls answered lyttel, but sayde they were
moze true than easye to be solomed, but
one thinge he wolde pꝛofesse, that hys
mynde and desire shoulde be to haue all
thynges come well to passe, but in case
any thyng dyd other wyse happen than
wel: he wolde rather put him selfe in the
daunger of his ennemies weapons, than
in the exclamacion of his owne angry ci
tezens. **W**ith these wordes he departed
out of the citee, and wente to the campe
with his hasty companyon.
Anniball although he saw the Romayne
army encreased by the halfe, yet confide
ryng the newe consules, he was verye
ioyful, thynking that he myghte by some
traigne byngge them to myschiese: his by
tailes began to be scant, wherfore he sent
a good number of men to get them corne
and cattell, but as they roved abroad vn
awysedly, the Romaynes inuaded them,
and slewe a. M. and. vii. C. of them, wyth
the losse of, C. of theyꝝ mē. **W**ha wold the
Romaynes

The warres betwene the
 Romaynes haue folowed the reste in the
 chase, had not Paulus the consull com-
 maunded the contrary, whose turne was
 to rule the hoste that day. For it was be-
 fore agreed betwene them, to gouerne the
 armie, the one one day, and the other the
 nexte daye, and so by tourne. When were
 the souldyours very angry toward Paulus,
 saynge to Marro theyr capytayne,
 that if he had not letted them, they had
 not failed to haue beaten Hannibal from
 his campe, and also oute of Italye. Han-
 niball was not so sorre for the losse of his
 men, as he was gladd, that the Roma-
 nes were in suche delyte and ioy of their
 small victorie. Wherefore he esteemed
 the angry consull to be redy to take any
 bayte that he wold laye for hym.

Of the peryllous battayle of Cannas,
 and the victorie that Anniball had there
 of the Romaynes. Cap. xxii.

The nexte nyght he remoued his
 hoste on the further syde of a
 greate hyll, nere adioyninge.
 There he sette his footemen in
 aray on the lefte hande: on the righte he
 set

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 67
 et his horsemen: al the cariage he put in
 the middes betwene them. He lefte his
 campe stozed with muche stufte and bag-
 gage, to the intente that when the Ro-
 maines were busy in spoyling the tentes
 he woulde sodaynelye and vnwares op-
 presse them. And to couer his craft the
 better, he made greate fires aboute the
 campe, before he went, that it shoulde be
 thought, that they woulde not haue the
 Romaynes ware of their stealing away,
 till they were passed farre oute of their
 daunger. And as he thought to begyle, so
 had it happed in dede, hadde not Paulus
 stayed his men from runnunge thither in
 such hast: and also had not two prysoners
 which were taken before by the Cartha-
 ginenses, escaped the same morning, who
 came to the Consulles and declared vnto
 them, that the whole armie of the Car-
 thaginenses, abode in arraie on the other
 side of the hill, readye to battayle.

When Anniball perceyued his deuisse to
 be knowen, he retourned agayne to his
 tentes, where he taried but a shorte space
 for lacke of vitayles and for barrennes of
 the countrey. Wherefore he retourned to-
 warde the countrey of Naples, a more
 warme

The warres betwene the
warre and plentiful countrey, pitching
his campe nere vnto Cannas. In pitching
of which his campe, he wisely considered
the winde to be in the Northeast, that na-
turallie in drie ground driueth the pol-
der and dust into the ayre, making it trou-
blous, darke, and cloudey. Wherefore
he so incamped him selfe, that his backe
was towarde the wynde, to the intent
when he should haue to do wyth his ene-
mies, the duste should blinde theyr eyes
so that they should be much hindered there-
by. The Consulles folowinge the Car-
thaginenses were come to Cannas.
And when they apperceyued their ene-
mies in theyr sighte, they pitched their
camps, euery Consul by him selfe, and
diuided theyr armies to euery Consul
his parte. There was a riuer called Au-
fidius, rennyng besyde both theyr cam-
pes, at the whiche bothe the hostes, not
wythoute fyghtyng and skymyng
as they had time and space watered their
horses and cattell.

Anniball lykynge the place wel for horse-
men to fyght in, wherein rested his most
trust and chiefe strength, thought to pro-
moke

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 68
ke the Consulles to battayle, and to
pre theyn thereto, he came towarde
eyn in good arraye, and caused the
ysmen to runne to and fro, almoste to
the tentes of the Romaynes, byddyng
eyn base. By reason whereof there a-
rose greate discorde amonge the Roma-
nes, and the consulles also. For Paulus
not minding to fight with them at theyr
treasures, did wysely obiecte vnto Marro
the foolyshe hardynesse and lacke of dis-
cretion of Semprounus and Flammi-
nus. Marro contrarie wyse layde vnto
him the example of Fabius, whome he
checked amonge the fearefull and slowe
captaines, professing to the goddes, and
also to men, that it ought not to be layde
vnto his charge, if Anniball shoulde take
italye, and holde it as his owne: Seynge
that he, and also his souldiours, beyng
holde desyrous to fyghte, were withhol-
den there fro by his felowe. Paulus like-
wise professed if anye euell did happen to
him and to their souldiours, that he
shoulde be cleare and innocent of the tres-
passe, saying that he trusted, that such as
were so busy, with theyr tounge should
K. II. f. n. d.

finde as hardy also with theyr handes in
battaile. And whyles they passed the time
in contention and debate. Anniball sent
a certayne of the Numidians to assault
the Romaine hoste, that were watering
theyr cattell on the other side of the river
on which side certayne of the Romaynes
lay also encamped in small campes, wher
at the first they droue awaye, and caused
them to flee, pursuing them euen to their
tentes, where with the Romaynes were
greatly displeased, so that they would in
continent haue passed the river to geue
battaile, hadde it not chaunced that day
Paulus to be ruler of the army, who com-
maunded the contrarie.

Barro the next day, whē his turne came
to rule, without the counsel of his felowes
passed the river with his army, and Paul-
lus folowed. For although he did not al-
lowe his felowes intent and purpose: yet
he thoughte to helpe him the best that he
might. Then set they theyr battailes in
orde after this maner. On the right
wyng, whiche was towarde the water
side, they set the Romaine horsemen, and
afterward the footemen: and on the left
hande they sette the straunge horsemen,
that

that came to theyr succours, and than al-
so the footemen straungers. In the mid-
del they set throwers and archers ioyned
to the Romayns legions. And the first
battaile was ordeyned of the residue of
straungers that hadde on lighte harneys
and nimble. The two wynges the Con-
sules gouerned theym selues, the lefte
wyng was committed to Terentius,
the right wyng to Paulus, and the mid-
dell warde to C. Seruilius.

Anniball no lesse busy then they, the next
morning solowinge, with his lighte har-
neyed people, passed ouer the river: and
then the other of his hoste solowed: but
euer as they were come ouer the water,
he put them in good araye. The frenche
horsemen & Spanyardes were set nyghe
the banke on the lefte hande, agaynst the
Romaine horsemen, & the middell warde
was of the footemen. The Affricanes, in
whom was his greatest trust, were assig-
ned to be on bothe sides of the frenche-
men and Spanyardes, to kepe them in.
These Affricanes for the moste parte,
were thought to be of the Romayne host
because of theyr armoure that they had
on, whych they before had taken, of the
Romaynes

The warres betwene the
of the Romans, bothe at Trebia, and at
Trasimenus. The noumbe of the host
was reckened to be. xl. M. footemen, and
x. M. horsemen. Hasdruball gouerned the
lefte wyng. Maharball the right wyng,
and Anniball with his brother Mago,
kepte the middel battayle. The Romans
were tourned toward the South, and the
Carthaginenses toward the North.
The south west winde was the by which
blewe the duste, that with steringe of the
people, arose into the eyes of the Romanes,
and that blinded them very sore.
Anone with great rumour the forewar-
des began the battels. And then the left
wyng of the Frenchmen and Spaniards
met, and encountred the right wyng of
the Romanes, not after the maner of the
battayle of men of armes on horsebacke,
because they lacked rouse and space, they
were so enclosed on both sides: vpon the
one side wyth the riuer, and on the other
the footemen letted them, so that they
coude none other wise do, but runne
streyghte one vpon an other, and like
massyng on horsebacke one tugged with
an other, and with force dyualve one an-
other of theyr horse backs, so that many
while

Romanes and the Carthaginenses. 70
while it was more like a battaile of foot-
men then of horsemen. This conflict
was vehement, but it endured not long:
The Romanes being put to the worse,
incontinent left the battayle and fledde.
When the horsemen had done, the foot-
men began the battaile, whiche endured
very long. The Frenchmen and Spaniards
were long of like courage. The Ro-
manes toke great paine in breaking the
middell fronte of their ennemies, whiche
they apperceived to be moste thinne and
weake, which when they had brought to
passe, and when those that kept the fore-
warde, with force, were put to utterance
and were fled to the Affricanes, than fol-
lowed the Romanes without resistance,
for a season, til at the last they were come
betwene the two winges of the Affrica-
nes, vnto the Frenchmen and Spaniards.
Thus the Romanes without or-
dye & wisely rushed into the presse.
When the Affricans extened their winges
compassyng and enclosing their en-
nemies behind theyr backs. Wherefore the
Romanes leauinge to fighte with the
Frenchmen & Spaniards, began a frethe
battaile against the Affricas, which was
not

The warres betwene the
not onely unlucke by reason they were
enclosed on al partes, but also they being
wery, enterprised a newe battail against
the that were freshe and unfought with
al. And whiles they fought thus on foote
the winge of the Numidian horsemen,
whereof Masduball was capitayne, joyn
ned also wyth the Romaines right wing
of horsemen. The battaile was stronge
on both partes, but the Carthaginenses
used greates subtiltee, for at the firste en
counter, about fize hundred of the Nu
midian horsemen, having swordes sec
rely hid vnder theyr harneis, besides those
that they did vse to occupy, turning their
targettes behind theyr backes, makinge
as though they had forsaken theyr horse
fledde from theyr company, and ranne to
their enemies, and leaping besides their
horses, caste theyr swordes and other
paraunt weapons at the foote of the Ro
maynes, as yelded persons: wherupon
they were receyued fyrst into the middell
of the Romaine hoste, and anon they
were broughte to the utter & hindermost
warde, & there commaunded to stande
the ende of the battaile. And when the
battaile began on all partes, they were

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 71
fyl without fighting, but after whā they
saw that euery man was busied and oc
cupied with fighting, than drawing forth
theyr swordes from vnder theyr harneis,
they toke the shieldes of them that were
slayne in the fyeelde, and rushed on the
backes of the romains, and so helving on
theyr backes, and hannes behinde, they
made a great slaughter. And whiles that
some parte conceyued feare and fledde,
and some other mayntained the battaile
with small hope of victoie, Masduball
sente a greates parte of the Numidians to
chace and distroye the Romaines as they
fled. Paulus the consul, although he was
deadly wounded befoze, yet manie ty
mes with his company restored and re
newed the battayles, wyth the helpe of
the Romain horsemen, who at length al
lighted from theyr horses, and fought on
foote: the Consulle for feblenes and ble
ding, being not able to gouerne his horse
Than the Carthaginenses, seinge that
theyr enemies had rather die in the fild,
than flee: incontinente slewe those that
they coulde not make to flee: some they
toke, and the other that were overcome,
being than sparkeled abrode, toke suche
horses

The warres betwene the
horses as they coulde get, and beganne to
flee. C. Lentulus a Tribune, leading an
empty horse in his hande, as he fled saw
Paulus the consull sytting on a stone, al-
couered with bloud, to whome he sayde.
Lucius Aemilius, whome the Goddes
shoulde take and esteeme as innocent of
this cruel slaughter, take this horse, whi-
les any strenght is left within the. And
I being thy friend, shall lyfte the up, and
kepe the on, lest thou make this battaille
dolesful and sorrowfull through the death
of a counsell, wythoute whiche verely
there is cause of weping and mournyng
enoughe. Therunto the consull answer-
ed: C. Cornelius, be thou increased in
vertue, but beware lest whyles thou doest
bewaile this chaunce, thou haue small
tyme to scape thy selfe: Go thou therfore
and bydde the Senate, that they make
strong the walles of Rome, and strength-
en it with succours, before the conquerours
come: And secretly shewe unto Quintus
Fabius, that Lucius Aemilius Paulus
doth firmly remember his preceptes, &
and lyueth in them, and finally dyeth in
them. And I pray the, suffer me to passe
the lyfe amonge these compaignes of my
deade

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 72
deade knyghtes, lest by lengar luyng
become an accuser of my felowe, defend-
yng myne innocency by the trespass of
another, and yet at length die, taken sau-
tyr of this deede.
The company of them whiche fled, trode
the Consull vnder foote, and after hys
enemyes, not knowyng who he was,
byd ouerpresse hym. Where was slaine at
that battaille forty thousande footemen,
and two thousande and seven hundred
horsemen, in which company was slaine
one of the consulles, with foure score Se-
natours, and suche as hadde borne greate
office in the citee, whiche voluntaryly
gaue them selues to that battaille. Fur-
thermore xxi. that had borne office of Tri-
bunes, besides that in that battaille were
taken. iii. thousande footemen, and. iii. hun-
dred horsemen. Of the Romaynes that
escaped by fleyng. vii. thousande came in-
to the smaller campe, and. r. M. fledde to
the greater campe. And whan the bataille
was finished, those Romayns that were
retournd to the greater campe, sente to
the other, whiche were in the lesse
campe, to repayre vnto them in the night
whyle they enemyes, being wery of tra-
uayle

The warres betwene the
ayle, and ioyfull of theyr viccoyze, were
geuen to take theyr rest, but they doubted
to take on them that enterpryse, saynge,
that it were as meete that they of the
greater campe should come to them: but
that for the daunger of passynge the hoste
of theyr enemies they were afearde so to
doe. Thus the most refused to goe oute of
the campe, notwithstandinge suche as
were hardy and valiant, by the great and
noble exhortacyon of .M. Sempzonius
Luditanus, a tribune, issued oute, and
came through their enemies in the nyght
with theyr shieldes on the ryghte syde to
warde the hoste of the Carthaginenses:
whereby they passed by them, receiuyng
the arrowes and dartes that were shotte
at them, vpon theyr sayde shieldes, and
so came to the greates campe, to the num-
ber of .iii. M. vi. C. and from thence to
kyng with them many of the other
of that compaignie, escaped at theyr
pleasure to Cannusium. The
other consull, with .l.
horsemen, fled
to Venus-
sia.

Howe

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 73
How Anniball ordered his busynesse after the
battayle, and howe yonge Scipio vled hym
selfe, for the saupage of the common
welth. Capit. xxiij.

The battayle thus ended, diuers
of the army came to Anniball,
and wylled hym to reste al that
daye, and the nyghte after his
great labour: but Maharball was there
with nothinge contented, saynge: you
should now incontinent with your horse-
men, solow the Romans to come in such
spede, that they shall knowe ye be al redy
come, befoze they heare of youre coming:
And thus doynge, the conclusyon wyll be,
that within fyue dayes ye shal like a con-
queroure dyne in the capytoll of Rome.
Than sayd Annibal: The way is longe,
and we had nede of counsaile or we vn-
dertake so great an enterpryse. At length
he allowed the herte and noble courage
of Maharball: but he sayd, he wolde deli-
berate vppon that enterpryse. Than an-
swered Maharball: The goddes haue not
geuen all thinges to one man: thou canst
well overcome thine enemies, Anniball,
but wha the vycctory is gyuen to the, thou
canst

canst not vse it. And it was thought, that the same one dayes rest and slackenes, was the cause of the sauegard of the citee of Rome, & also of all the whole empire. **A**nniball, after that he had rested the fyrst night, sente his people to the syelde, to see whether anye of theyr ennemyes shulde reuyue agayne, and as they sawe or perceyued any like to recouer, he was incontinent slayne: and he proceeded and toke the campes, and all theim that were in them. **W**herein was a greate number of men, for beyng afrayd to folowe theyr companye, they remayned styll in theyr campes. And he was contented, that the captiues should be raunsomed, euery one after his degree, the Romaynes .iii. C. peces of syluer: other that came to theyr succours and of Italy. ii. C. and theyr seruantes for .i. C. **W**hiche money beyng ones payde for theyr redempcyon, they shuld haue liberty to go to theyr cuntreis. **T**his done, he caused the deade bodies of his owne hoste to be searched and buryed, whych were to the nounter of eight thousand, amonge whyche he caused the body of the consul to be buried.

There was a certaine woman of a noble

ble kynred called Busa, whych succoured the Romaynes that were fledde to Cannusium, both with meate, drinke, clothe, and other necessaries, for whiche deede, the warre beyng synysshed, shee was had wyth the Romaynes in great hono^r. **T**here were that tyme in Cannusium. iii. Tribunes, whych were Fabius Maximus the yonger, and Lucius. **P**. Bibulus. **P**. Cornelius Scipio, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, they all, by the assent also of the other souldyours, gaue the whole rule and gouernance of the whole company of the Romaynes, whych were there, to **P**. Scipio, beyng then verie yonge, and to Appius Claudius: **T**o whom, whā they were consulting amōg other for the profite of the commonwelth **P**. Furius Philius sayde, that theyr Counsel was but in vayne, for to restore and bring agayne that, which was vtterlye losse: And that the common wealthe was deserte and cleane subuerted: aduysynge the noble yonge men to folowe the purpose of Lucius Cecilius Metellus and to take hym as theyr gouerno^r, who was redy, with many other wyth him, to depart y^e citee in hast, takinge their ships
which

which were purposely ordeined for them
and by the sea to flee ouer to some pynne
by kyng for succour. Whiche cruel coun-
sell sodeinly geuen after theyr great losse
and misfortune, made theim verie feare-
full and in greate doubt what they shuld
doe: in so muche that many, beyng then
present, thought to deliberate on the mat-
ter. Whych deliberacion yong Scipio (ex-
lect by destiny to synnise the same warres
against the Carthaginenses) denied and
dyspyed. We must (sayth he) be bold, and
valyantly enterpryse thinges in so great
a myschiese, and not stande longe consu-
tyng vpon them. Wherefore he commaun-
ded, that so many as wold haue the com-
mon welth safe, shoulde goe wyth him ar-
med. And than he with a few solowynge
hym, wente to Metellus lodgyng, where
syndynge an assemble of yonge men in
conjuracion vppon the deuise of Furius
Philus, before declared, he helde hys swor-
de swerde ouer theyr heades, and sayd
Wyth my whole mynde and wyll, I
swear that I shall neuer leaue the com-
mon welth of the citee of Rome, nor shal
suffer any citezen of Rome to leaue it.
And if I wyllingly be false, than I praye
the

the mightye and omnipotent Jupiter, to
distroy my house, my familie, and all my
goodes wyth most vilest destruction.
Whiche othe I require of the Lucius Ce-
lius, and of all other that are here pre-
sente. And he that will not swear the
same, let him knowe, y my naked sword
shall passe through him. All they beinge
so lesse feared wyth his wordes, than if
Anniball had bene present, toke the same
othe, and committed theim selues to the
iurisdiction of Scipio.

While these thinges were done at Ca-
nusium, there were gathered together a-
bout. iiii. M. horsemen and footemen, and
were come to Venusia, where the Con-
sull Marro was, with whiche compaigne
the Consull came to Canusium, and ha-
ving so great a nūbre about him thought
him selfe able to defend them selues and
the citee from Anniball.

Of this great losse in the battayl, newes
was broughte to Rome, wythoute any
mention of sauynge of the saide nūbre,
that were with the Consul: but that eue-
ry man was slayne, and no Roman left
on liue. Whiche newes caused as greate
fearre and rumoure in the citee, as euer
was

The warres betwene the
was heard there before: In so much that
it was bruted abroad, that neither Cap-
taine nor souldiour was left in the Ro-
mayne camps, and that almost all Ita-
lye was yelded to Anniball. Wherefore
they looked euery houre when their ene-
mies would come to besiege the citee of
Rome. Whereupon the Senatours pre-
pared at Rome, al thinges necessary for
the succours of the citee. When they or-
dered their legions & officers, Marcus
Junius, by the hole consent of the Senate
was chosen Dictatour, and Titus Sem-
pronius mayster of the horsemen. There
was also by the same auctoritee chosen
iiii. legions, and a thousand horsemen of
yong men, of the age of xvii. yeares, be-
sides that they sent to theyr frendes in o-
ther places of Italy, that they also should
prepare souldiours of the same sort, with
horse, harneys, and all other necessities.
The citee thus beinge in extreme feare,
letters came from the consul Terentius
to Rome, certifieng the Senate of the
losse of the battaille, and of his felowes the
other Consul. And howe he with the lea-
uinges of the hoste, that escaped at the
battaille, were at Canusium, to the num-
ber

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 78
er of ten thousand men. Which newes
somewhat comforted the heartes of the
citizens.
Howe let vs retourne to Anniball, who
being busied aboute his prisoners, suffe-
red ten of the Romayne captiues, in the
name of all the other, to go to Rome, to
see if the fathers conscript, or any of their
frendes would redeeme them and theyr
company that were prisoners: desiringe
of these tenne messengers none other fa-
uours, for they retourne, sauyng they
the. With whom he sent a noble baron
of Carthage, to the intent, that it should
appeare them to intreat of peace he might
knowe the condicions thereof with hym.
The price of the redemption of a Ro-
mayne horseman was fyue hundred pe-
ces of silver, called quadrigati, so named
because that the coyne bare in it the prynte of
a chariot: The price of a Romayne cyte-
zen was three hundred: the price of a ser-
uaunte was one hundred: All other pri-
soners of Italye, that came to the helpe
of the Romaynes, he let go free to theyr
countreies without ransome. And when
it was shewed the counsell, that they
were come to Rome, a messenger met this
baron
L. ii.

The warres betwene the
baron of Carthage, whose name was
Carthago, and shewed hym that the Do-
ctoure commaunded, that he should de-
parte from the boundes of Rome, before
the night.

Soone after the Senate or parliament
was holden for the captives messengers
where one of them, that was of most au-
thoritee, thus began to saye and openly
pronounce his oration.

The oration of the captive prisoners made
to the Senate for theyr redemp-
tion. Cap. xxxiii.

It is not vnknownen to you all,
(Fathers conscripte) that there
was neuer more wretched and
vile prisoners to any citee, than
haue bene to this our citee. Notwithstan-
ding vnles we stande verrye muche in our
olde conceyte, there were neuer Ro-
maines taken prisoners in warre, which
were lesse worthy to be displeased vnto
you, than we be now. For truly we dyd
not yelde by our harneys and weapons
in battel for feare as cowardes, but whan
it oze we towarde night, standynge vpon
heapes

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 77
heapes of deade bodies, we withdrew
from the battaile, and went to our tents
where as we beinge both weare with
labour and soze wounded, kepte oure sel-
ues in safegarde the residue of the daye
and night folowing. The next daye, whan
we perceyued that we were inclosed and
constrayned with the hoste of oure enne-
mies, wantynge also, water, and seynge
no hope of escapynge through the thicke
host and company of our enemyes, and
consideringe that it were wysedome, and
not soundinge to dyshonour, seynge that
fiftye thousand were slayne of oure com-
panye, that some shoulde be lesse of oure
ouldiours at this battaile alyue: We
than in conclusion agreed wyth them for
our raunsome, that we might be deliue-
red. And then we yelde by our weapons
which could litell prouaile vs. We haue
heard that our elders were redeemed from
the Frenchemen, yea and our fathers be-
ing most sierce and hardy were gladd to
send to Tarent for condicions of peace,
because of redempynge theyr captives, but
in Italye wyth the Frenchemen, and at
Heracleon with Pyrrhus, bothe the bat-
tles were accompted wretched and ful
L. iii. of

of infamy, because of the cowardise and
fleinge of our people, but so was it not
wyth vs. The deade bodies do ouer
spredde the fieldes at Cannas, neyther
had we escaped the deathe, but that for
our enemies, for merines in killing and
fleyenge, lacked both strengthe and wea-
pons. There be manye of vs, whiche ne-
uer came to battaile, but beinge lefte to
kepe the campe, when the tentes were
pelled, they likewise came vnder subiec-
tion to theyr enemies. Merelye I do not
enuy the estate or fortune of anye citezen
or of my selowe in warre, neither would
I, that my fame shoulde be extolled and
rayled by the infamy of other, but truly
they ought to haue litel reward or prais
vnlesse it be of the agiltee and swiftnes
of theyr fete, which beinge vnarmed for
the moste part, fleinge from battaile, ne-
uer ceased till they came to Venusia, or
Cannusium: yet do they preferre them-
selues before vs iustly and not without
a cause, as they thinke. Wea, and they re-
ioyce and boiste, that there remaineth in
them more succour and helpe to the com-
mon wealth than in vs. But we would
ye should receyue and take them as good
and

and strong men. And also to thinke vs to
be hereafter more prompt and willing to
mainteyne our countrey, by how much
we maye be redeemed and restored into
the same by your benefites. We haue ta-
ken the muster of all your people of all a-
ges and sortes, and I here saie, ye haue
chosen. viii. thousand of your bondemen
to the warre, and there is of vs no lesse
a numbre, neyther will our redeming
cost any more then theyr bying will cost.
Truly if I should compare them, being
yngel seruantes and bnde vnto vs
Citizens and free, I shoulde greatlye
dishonour the name of Rome. But this
I would ye should remeber fathers con-
script, in sucbe a counsell, if ye will be so
hard harted, as to refuse vs (which if you
do, you shal do without our deseruing) to
whiche of our enemies will ye commit vs:
to Pirrhys: or els to Anniball: in whom
it is hard to be iudged, whether doth re-
maine more, crueltie or auarice. If ye bid
se the bandes and chaines, with whiche
your citezens are bounde, the fylthyneesse
and deformitie, that they are in: certes
it woude no lesse moue and pitey you,
than if you sawe youre Legions lyenge
dead

The warres betwene the
 head, couering the feildes of Cannas, we
 may behold the sorow, heauines, and the
 teares of our frendes and kinsfolke, stand-
 ing at the porche of the Senate, tarieng
 for your answer. And sens they be so so-
 rowefull for vs and for them that be ab-
 sente in prison, what mindes woulde you
 suppose those prisoners to haue, whose
 life and libertee is in doubt, and hangeth
 nowe in balance? Certainly if Anniball
 contrarie to his owne nature, woulde be
 meeke and gentle to vs, yet neuerthelesse
 woulde not we desire to liue, in case we
 shall bee thoughte of you oure noble fa-
 thers, vnworthye to be redeemed. Should
 I desire the retourn into my countrey, if
 being a citezen I should not be esteemed
 by you worth. iii. C. peeces of siluer: Let
 euery mā do as he wil (fathers conscript)
 I knowe my body and life to be in doubt
 but the ieopardye of our name and fame
 doth more moue and greue me, that we
 shoulde be reckened vnto you as abiected
 and castes a way for there is no man that
 will suppose you to spare our redemption
 for coste.

¶ When he hadde made an ende of his
 oration, there arose a greate noyse and
 weping

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 wepinge amonge the people, bothe men
 and women, that were frendes vnto the
 layde captiues, who helde their handes
 towarde the Senatours, desyryng them
 to restore theyr betherne and chyldren.
 After many and dyuerse contrary oppo-
 sions had in the senate: some supposinge it
 mete, that they should bee redeemed wyth
 the common treasure, and some contrary
 C. Manlius Torquatus, a man of ouer
 hard and cruel nature (as it was thought
 to many) beyng desyred to shewe his sen-
 tence and iudgement, began thus to say.

¶ The fore aunswere of, C. Torquatus to the
 captiues oracion, wherein he dissuaded
 their redemption. Cap. xrb.

¶ The legates, that were sente
 hither for the redemption of our
 captiues, had al onely made pe-
 tition for those, who are taken
 prisoners, that they might be restored, I
 wolde haue shewed my mynde breselye,
 without reherfal of anye of theyr feates,
 for of what ought you rather to be admo-
 nished, than to obserue the custome, left
 by your fathers, as concernynge busyness
 of

The warres betwene the
of warre by example necessarye. But
nowe, because they almoste reioyse and
gloire, that they yelde them selues to
theyr ennemys, and thinke it mete they
shoulde bee preferred not onely before
those, whyche were taken prysoners in
battayle, but also before those that escap-
ped to Venusia and Cannusium, ye and
before Terentius Varro the consulle: I
shall declare vnto you (fathers conscript)
all that was done there, ye and I wolde
to the goddes, that I mighte speake these
thynges, whych I am about to shew vnto
you, at Cannusium before the hoste.
Whyche wolde be a sure wytnesse of
very mannes cowardise and sluggishnes
and also of theyr hardynes and vertue: as
els I wolde that Publius Sempzonius
were here presente, whom yf they had fol-
lowed, they had be now in sauegarde in
the Romayne tentes, and not captiues
with theyr ennemys. For whan theyr
ennemys were weerye of fyghtynge,
and also reioysynge of theyr victorie, and
the moste parte of theym retourned to
theyr tentes: they mighte haue hadde the
nyghte free wythoute interrupcion to
haue escaped. Merelye. vii. thousande ar-
med

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 80
med me might thā haue escaped through
theyr ennemys, takynge so lyttell hede
to them, but truly nother wold they en-
terpryse this thynge them selues, nor fo-
lowe them that wolde take on them that
adventure. All the nyghte longe almoste
Sempzonius ceased not to admonyshe
and exhort them, that they shoulde folowe
hym as theyr capytayne, whyles there
were but few of theyr ennemys aboute
theyr tentes, whyles euerye man was at
rest & silence, and whyles the nyghte dyd
couer and hide theyr purpose: Shewynge
them, that they shoulde come into saue-
garde, and to theyr frends before the day,
as by the memoire of oure grandfatheres,
Publius Decius dyd in Samnio, and
as Calpurnius Flamma, whan wee
were but yong men, dyd in the first war-
res Punicke. to. iii. hundred that willingly
folowed hym. Whan he hadde broughte
them to take a hyl, whyche was in the
myddell of theyr ennemys. Let vs here
dye fouldours (sayd he) & let vs throughe
oure deathe deliuer oure legions and ar-
mye, whyche are inclosed and besyged
by our ennemys. If Publius Sempzo-
nius had spoken such wordes to you, & yf
none

The warres betwene the
None of you had ben of suche hardynes to
consent to hym, he myght haue supposed
you neither to be men, nor Romanus: but
he shewed you a muche more easie way,
whiche wolde brynge you as well to glory
and prayse, as to health and profyte.
He made him selfe a capytaine and guide
to brynge you to your cuntrey, to your fa-
thers, to your wyues, and chyldren. But
you lacked audacitee to folow him. What
would you haue done, yf he wolde haue
moued you to haue dyed for your country
Fiftie thousande citezens, and of your
frendes lay deade about you that daye in
the fielde. If the examplis of hardynesse
and vertue of so many noble men, would
not moue you, there is nothing that euer
shall moue you: If such slaughter of your
frendes doth not cause you to haue small
estymacion of your owne lyues. nothing
shall euer moue you thereto: You should
haue desyred youre cuntrey, whyles yee
were free, safe and sound, yea you should
haue desired it, whyles it was your coun-
treie, nowe doe ye desire it to late. Ye
be cleane separate from it. Ye are utterly
alienate from the ryght of the Cytizens.
Ye are nowe made seruauntes vnto the
Cartha-

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 31
Carthaginenses. I will ye bee redeemed
from thense, whither you willingly wyl
wyth cowardise, slothnes and wycked-
nes: you wolde not here Sempronius
your citezen commaundyng you to take
harneys and to folowe hym, but some af-
ter you hearde Anniball, commaundyng
you to yelde your armoure and your ten-
tes: Why do I accuse (fathers conscript)
they? slothfulnes and cowardise, whan
I maye rather accuse they? wycked and
abominable facte: they dyd not onely
refuse his counsaile whiche was profita-
ble: but also they wente aboute to wyth-
stand hym, and to constrayne hym to for-
sake the common welth: vntill noble men
with they? naked swordes had put them
from they? purpose. Publius Semproni-
us was dyuen (I saye) by his to escape by
manful courage throughe those bys felo-
wes and citezens, and after throughe the
myddel of his ennemis. And should this
citee and cuntrey desyre the restitucion
of such citezens, whome yf the resydue of
they? felowes, who were at Cannas, had
folowed and bene lyke, there had no cite-
zen ben left vs of those, whiche were at
the battel: of. vii. M. men there were. vi.

C. that aduentured to escape and re-
tourne free with armoure to theyr coun-
trei, nother dyd the hoste of theyr enne-
mies, whych were. xl. M. men let o: hin-
der them: how safe than myghte the two
armyes beyng ioynd together haue
passed thinke you: whych if they hadde
done fathers conscripte, ye shoulde haue
had nowe. xx. M. stronge and hardy soule-
diours at Cannusium. But nowe howe
can these be acompted for good & faithful
citizens (as for bolde they wyll not call
them selves) whiche had rather to lye in
kynges in theyr tentes, and farye both the
daye and their ennemys, than to ende-
uour theym selues with theyr compaignes
to escape alwaye in the nighte: but seyng
that theyr hertes wold not serue them to
auoyde theyr tentes, was it lyke (trowe
ye) that they shuld haue hardynes to con-
serue and kepe the same tentes: They say
that where they were besyged for cer-
taine daies & nightes they defended them
selues, and at length, whan they had suf-
fered the extremyte, whan all the ne-
cessaries to theyr lyfe dyd fayle theym,
than they beyng overpessed wth hun-
ger, could no longer susteine battaile. And
they

they saye they were rather overcome for
lacke of humayne necessyties than wth
battaile. This greate war that ye speake
of, lastyng two dayes, was ended in two
howres. Anniball came to the tentes be-
fore the sonne arose to whom wthout a-
ny battaile geue, or resistance made, they
yelded by theyr weapons and theym sel-
ues. Whan they shoulde haue foughte in
the battaile, they fled to theyr campe, and
whan they shoulde haue defended theyr
campe, they nother profitable in the bat-
taile not in their tentes, yelded by campe
and al. Should such a sort be redeemed: I
thinke them (fathers conscripte) no more
worthy to be redeemed, than I thinke them
worthy to be yelded to Anniball, whych
escaped from theyr tentes throughe the
myddel of theyr ennemies. And throughe
theyr great hardines reioyed them selues
to theyr countrey. Whan Manlius had
synished his oracion, although manye of
theym were of the kinrede and alvance to
the senatours, yet the aunswere was ge-
uen them, that they shuld not be redeemed
And that for two causes, the one was for
the olde example of the citee that hadde
ouer lyttell fauoured the redemption of
captiue

The warres betwene the
captiue prysoners. And other was, the
greate some of money that must be payde
for them. wherof they treasure had bene
before made bare wyth manyfolde charges
of warre. And also they were lothe
that Annibal, than beyng neddy of money,
shuld with theyr substance be so greatly
enryched. Than began a new mourning
for the losse of the cytezens. They follo-
wed the legates with great weeping and
sorrowe to the gates. One of these tenne
Romeynne messangers, that were sente
from Annibal, after that his compaignye
departed towarde Rome, feigned that he
had lefte some thinge behynd e hym, and
so returned to his tentes, & in the night
overtok his compaignye, by whiche frau-
dulente retourne, thinkynge hym selfe
quitte and discharged of his othe, went
home to his owne house, and there re-
mayned styll, not returning to An-
nibal: but whan his vntruth was
known, he was taken and
sent to the tentes of the Car-
thaginenses, to doe wyth
hym theyr plea-
sure.

Romeynes and the Carthaginenses. 83
Howe Pacuvius by craft became chiefe ru-
ler of Capua, and of the yeldinge of that
citee to Annibal. Capi. xxvi.

Anibal after the battaille at
Cannas, with as great speede
as he might, went from Apu-
lia to Samnium, and to Costa
and so to Naples, but the strenght of that
towne made him afraide to geue assaute
herto. Wherfore he went from thence,
and came to Capua, which as then flour-
ished in pleasure & abundance by longe
felicitie & sauoure of fortune. Than was
there in Capua one Pacuvius, a noble
man sauinge that he gat not his goodes
and riches by honest meanes. This Pa-
cuvius bare great office in the citee the
same yeare that the Romaines losse the
battaille at Trasimenus: And nowe thin-
king to make a discorde betwene the Se-
nate & the commō people, who long had
used great licence & libertie without rea-
son, and thereby to encrease both his au-
toritie and substance, deuised a great and
perillous enterpryse, whiche was, that so
soone as Annibal shoulde come thither
with his army, he would cause the com-
mons to slea the senators: After whose
death

The warres betwene the
death, he might at his pleasure yelde the
cittie to the Carthaginenses. Yet at the
last he considered, that better it were for
him to rule and gouerne a common welth
flourishing in all thinges, then to rule a
citee: y^e were utterly subuerted & destroyed
(whiche he accompted to be, if the noble
men & ancient counsellors, thereof were
slaine) he then imagined a waye, that he
might both saue the senate & counsell of
the citee, & make the counsell of the same
to thinke them selues bounde to him & to
the comon people. Whereupon he called
a counsaile, wherein he shewed the sena-
tors, that to receiue the Carthaginen-
ses, & to leaue the Romans friendship did
nothing please him, consideringe that he
had married Appius Claudius daughter
& also that Lilius had married one of his
daughters: sauing that necessitee did re-
quire it, because ther was other matters
in hand much more to be doubted, which
was, that the commune people were pur-
posed first to slea the all that were in the
Senate house, & after to yelde by the ci-
tee to Anniball. Neuerthelesse he sayde,
he would undertake that he would saue
them from daunger, if they would com-
mit

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 84
mit theym selues wholye to him: where-
with he made them great assurance by
othes. When they all, beinge overcome
with feare, had consented to him, I will
shut you (sayth he) into the senate house,
as though I were of the commons coun-
sell, and did allowe theyr deedes and pur-
pose: but after I shall finde a way to con-
serue and saue you. When they were a-
greed to the same, he enclosed theym in
the counsaile house so that none could
come to them, nor they get forth vnesse
it were by his licence. And then he called
the common people together, and sayde:
My frendes, nowe haue you power ouer
the detestable and wycked Senatoures,
whose death ye haue so long desyred, and
that ye haue nowe without stroke stry-
king. For beholde, I haue them enclosed
in yonder house aboue vnarmed: And
what sentence ye wil geue of theym, or
anye of theym, that shall they suffer, ac-
cording to theyr deseries. But before all
thinges, I wold you should haue respect
to your health and profite, before the ex-
ecution of your wrath. For Senatoures I
am sure, ye wil haue to gouerne the citee
Therefore nowe haue we two things to
be

The warres betwene the
be done together, that is, to put downe
the olde senatours, & then to chose newe
I wil well, that you shal iudge what pun-
nishment the olde shall haue: but first
you shal chuse a newe valiant wise sena-
toz in euery of their places. Then let he
downe & caused their names to be put in
writing into a pot, and as theyz names
were seuerallye drawen forth of the pot,
he caused them to be called in order, & he
that was first named, he caused to be set-
ched out of the senate house, wherein they
were inclosed. And whan the commons
herd his name, they all cried that he was
wicked, & worthy of punishment. Then
said Pacuius, I here wel what you say
let him be cast out for nought, & another
chosen in his place. Than were they at
the first put to silence, because they wan-
ted a better to be chose in his place. And
when any man would take vpon him to
n^o any other man: there would arise
a greater rumour & noise at his naming
Some sayeng, they knewe him not, and
some reprehendinge his birth, some his
maners, some the vilenes of his crafte &
liuing, wth such other obiections: & muche
more the noise was for chosing the second
and

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 85
and thirde: so that they all agreed, that it
was rather better for theym to suffer the
old noughty senatours to remain wh^{ch}
they knewe to haue suche newe, as
were worse & vnknownen, so that they co-
maunded to let the old senatours go free
and vse their roomes. After this maner
Pacuius gat the rule of y^e comon welth
peasiblye, makinge the senatours muche
more bounde to him, for sauing their liues
than to the commons of the citee. And by
this mean by al mens consent he had the
hole gouernance of the citee. Of this
came the losse of the dignitee to the sena-
tours, forgettinge their libertee, doyng
nothing in the counsell house without the
commons aduise. The citee was alwayes
prone & geuen to lust & pleasure, not only
by the noughtines of theyz mindes, but
also by the abundaunce of pleasures, ry-
ches, & other delites, & of all fruitefulness
both on sea and lande, and wared vnto
through the flatterye of princes, & ouer-
much libertee of the people, folowinge
their pleasures and lust beyond all mea-
sure, so that they dispised both the senate
and other magistrates, and also all rule
and lawe. And then after the battaile of
D. iii. Cannas

Cannas, they that had a litle shamefast-
nesse before, were not ashamed to dispi-
se the empyre of Rome. And in shorte time
after, they consented to yelde vp the citie
to Anniball, & to leaue the amities of the
Romans: yet before they would send their
legates to Annibal, they sent messagers
to Rome, to desire that one of theyr citie
might be euer one of the Consulles at
Rome, if they wold that they shuld helpe
them in their busines. Whereupon there
arose greate indignation and anger, for
that they, that were before in amitie and
as subiectes, should require such equality-
tie of honour with the Romans. Where-
fore they commaunded, that the legates
should be brought out of the senate house
& further they sent an officer, who should
conuaye them out of the citie, & to charge
theym to departe out of the limittes and
boundes of Rome. The same legates in
continente vppon theyr retourn home,
were sente to Anniball, who receyued
them, and graunted them all the condi-
cions of peace, accordynge to theyr ask-
inge, so that no ruler or magistrate of
Carthage should hereafter clayme rule
or dominion ouer any citizen of Capua,
neither

neither should any of them be enforced to
go in the warres, but at his owne plea-
sure. Agayne, that they might kepe still
their owne lawes, with their rules and
magistrates. Amongest whych requestes
they desired. iiii. C. Romane captiues to
be deliuered vnto them, which shoulde be
chaunged for other. iiii. C. of theyr horse-
men, that kepte warre in Sicilia, which
was not denied them. To this agree-
ment, Decius Papius, a man of greate
auctoritee (sauinge that the commons
were not agreable to him) didde bitterlye
enuyse: and sayst willing that no legatye
should be sent to Anniball. And as soone
as he hearde, that the agremente was
made, and that Anniball would send his
men of armes to Capua, he shewed the
for an example, the proude reyninge of
Dirchus: and the miserable seruitude of
the Carentines, cryeng alowde, that if
they would heare him, Anniballes army
should in no wise be receiued: And if they
were already receyued, that they should
be put forth agayne.

As soone as these thinges were shewed
to Hanniball (as they were not secretly
spoken) he commaunded, that Papius
should

should be taken and sente vnto him: but then he fearing the displeasure of the people, sent word to Marius the p̄tor, that he would be at Capua, the nexte daye following. Marius incontinent assembled the people, and shewed all men of Anniballes coming, commaunding them to be ready with theyr wyues to meete him. And when he was comminge, and all the citee wente to meete him, onely Decius with his sonne, and a fewe of his frends would not go with them: but walked openlye and stubburnelye in the market place. As soone as Anniball came to the citee, he called a counsaile, myndinge in his anger to do cruell execution of his aduersaries, notwithstandinge the rulers of the citee desired him that he should do nothing as that day, but be mery and celebrate the same in the worshippe of his comming. To whose request (although he was of a sodaine inclination to wrath and anger) he was conformable: and spent that daye in bewinge the citee. Marcus Calpurnius, of whom we spake before, who was chiefe of the citee, and chiefe causer of the p̄sidinge thereof to the Carthaginenses, brought his sonne being

beinge a yonge man, thither, whome he toke from the compaignie of Decius, wyth whom the yonge man stode firmlye against the bandes and frendshyppe made with the Carthaginenses: nother coulde the citezens, beyng enclyned to that part, nother the auctoritee of his father, moue the yonge man to the same, vnto whome his father, with great intercession, made Anniball good lord and frend. Anniball beyng ouercome and appeased wyth the requeste of hys father, caused the yonge man, with his father, to be sent for to supper, at whiche supper there was none of Capua, sayng those that were lodged in that house, and one Iubellius Laureia, a noble warriour. The supper was begun before the nyghte, the feast was sumptuous, and not after the manner of fare in warre time. This yonge man, nother by the prouocation of the rulers, nor by the cheringe of Anniball hym selfe, coulde be perswaded to be mery, but he shewed hys father, that he was diseased, and that his minde was sore troubled. And when hys father heard that, he departed oute of the feasting chaumber before the sonne was sette: whome his sonne folowed. And when

whā they came to the gardē, at the end of
the house whiche was secret: father (saith
he) I haue deuised now a way, wherby we
shal not only purchase oure pardon of the
Romains, so; that we haue forsake them
and chosen Anniball to be our gouernor,
but we shall stande now from henceforth
in muche more dignitie and grace wyth
them, than euer we were before. When
his father (meruailing what it might be)
hadde inqyred of hym that deuise: he
cast his gowne from hym, and shewed
hys side beyng gyrded wyth a sword:
Nowe wyll I (said he) establishe and sanc-
tifie the bandes betwixt the Romaynes
and vs, with the bloudde of Annibal: Of
this counsaile Father, I thoughte to
make the priue before, for because I
knewe not, whether thou haddest rather
be presente, whyles the deede were do-
yng or not. Whiche diuise whan the
olde man hearde (as though he hadde
be presente at the doyng of that which
was spoken) wyth greatte feare he be-
ganne to exhorte and perswade his sonne
to the contrary: laipng fyrste the greate
othe and promyse made to Annibal by all
the whole citee: & also shewing the daun-
get

ger of the art to be such, that he could ne-
uer escape alieue. I beyng thy father (sayd
he, haue wonne Anniball to be thy good
lorde, and shall not I wyne my sonne to
be frende to Anniball: And after that
he hadde with longe prayer, wepyng,
and greate intercessyon overcome hys
sonne, and disadvised him from his enter-
pryse, the yonge man sayde these woo-
des: O countrey, receyue thou thys
sword, wyth whiche I beyng armed,
wold haue defended this citee and castel,
sparyng nothyng nor fearyng myne
owne death, but onely beyng overcome
with my fathers perswasions. And whā
he had so sayde, he caste his sword into
the playne ouer the gardeyne walle, and
than because he should not be suspecte, he
went againe to the feaste.

The next daye the senate was holden,
in the whych Annibals first oracion was
verge gentyll, geuyng thanks vnto the
citizens, so; that they preferred hys am-
tis and frendshyp before the Romaynes:
and among other hygh promyses, he pro-
mised theym that Capua shoulde in
shorte space be the heade of all Italy: And
that the Romaines with other citiees of
Italy,

The warres betwene the
Italy, shoulde seke vnto Capua for they
ryghte and lawe: but he sayde, that there
was amonge theym one named Magius
Decius, who was nothyng agreable vnto
the amitee betwene the Carthaginenses
and theim of Capua: who (he sayde)
was no citezen, noz oughte to be so called
noz reputed. Wherefore he requyred, that
he might be yelded vnto him, and that also
in his presence his cause myghte be debated
before theym of the counsaile. To
which request euerye man graunted, al-
though some thoughte he was a man
much vnworthy to sustayne such mysery,
and that theyr libertee began to minyshe
not a lyttel in the beginning. The senate
was holden in the temple. Magius was
commaunded to be taken, and brought to
shewe his mattier, and he anone denyed
it to be lawefull for theym, to breake the
truce taken with the Romaynes: Where-
fore he was commaunded to bee bounde
with chaines, and led to the campe of the
Carthaginenses. In this leadynge thither,
as long as his fate was not couered
he wente cryng to all them, which were
gathered together to see hym: Now haue
ye, men of Capua, your libertee, whiche
you

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 89
you desyred: In the market place, and in
the daye lyght, and in the presence of you
all, I being chiefe and moſte auncient of
Capua, being bound & drawen to death.
What could haue bene done moze cruell
and violent, if Capua had be taken: whā
he could not be stayed, but continued cry-
ynge after this maner, because the com-
mon people were thoughte to be moued
with his wordes, his face and heade was
couered, and he was led quicklye oute of
the gates into the tentes of Annibal, and
from thence in haste sente towards Car-
thage by shyppe, lest there should be anye
sedicion moued for the same amonge the
Cytizens: but in saylynge thither, the
shippe was dryuen by tempeste to Cyre-
nas, where Magius fled to the picture of
Ptolomeus the kynge for his safegarde.
Wherevpon he was brought by the ke-
pars of the towne to Alerandria, before
Ptolomeus. And whan he had declared
vnto the king, that Annibal had sent him
bound, contrarie vnto the league & ban-
des of the truce taken with the Cytizens
of Capua: he was deliuered from his
bandes, and had libertee to goe whether
he woulde to Rome, or to Capua. To the
whiche

The warres betwene the

whych he made aunswere, that Capua was not a place very safe for him: and he sayd, that rome, whyles there was warre betwene the men of Capua and it, was rather an habitation of vacabundes than of frendes, and old guesstes. Wherfore he sayd, he had not so greate desyre to liue in any place, as in his kingdom, by whome he was restored to his libertee.

The newes that Mago brought to Carthage of Annibals victories in Italye, and the oration of Hanno a senatour of Carthage made vnto the same. Cap. xxviii.

Whyles these thynges were done in Italye, Mago the Sonne of Amilcar, not sente from the armie by his brother, but occupied a certaine space, in receiuyng the cities of the Bruttians, which yelded thein selues willingly to the Carthaginēses, brought tidings to Carthage of the victory at Cannas. When the senatours were for hym assembled, he declaring the actes done by his brother in Italye sayde, that he hadde foughten wyth. vi. Capptaynes, of the which. iiii. were consuls, the fift Dicta-
tors

Romaynes and the Carthaginēses. 90

four, that is cheserular in the common welth of the citee, & the first maister of the horsemen. He sayd also, that he had ouercome. vi. Consulles hostes: so that there was slayne by hym. ii. C. 99. and aboue fifty. 99. taken, and also he had slayne. ii. of the foure consuls, and the thyrd was sore wounded: and the fourth hauyng losse all his host, fled scarsely with. l. men. And that the mayster of the horsemen was overcome and put to flyghte: so that the Dictator, which at no time durst come to bataille, remayned onely their heade and capitaine. Furthermore, that diuers places in Italy were tourned to Annibal, as the Bruttians, the Apulians, parte of the Samnites, and the Lucanes In so much as Capua, whych was not onely the head of Campania, but also of all Italy, euer sens the Romaynes were so overthrowen at Cannas, had yelded theym selues to Anniball. And for the more credence of these so ioyfull newes, he caused rynges of golde to be powred before the senatours, which of many men were reported to be to the quantity of thre bushels, & a halfe: but most authors write (& that semeth to be most agreeable to verity that

The warres betwene the

that they were about the mesure of a but-
shel. And mozeouer because it should be a
token of a moze notable slaughter he said
that no man dyd weare anye of the sayde
sewels, but horsemen, and men of noby-
litee. The summe of his oracio was, that
the greater the hope was of the whole
victory, so muche rather Annibal should
be ayded wyth great helpe and succoure,
signifying to them, that the warre was
far from theis, in the myddel of their en-
emies lande, and that a great quantitee
of grayne and much money was spente.
He sayd also, that as the number of their
enemies with so manye battailes were
slayne and dimynished, so theyr hoste al-
so was partelye mynyshed and slayne.
Wherefore it was mete (he sayd) to send
money grayne and other necessaryes to
souldiours that so well had set forth the
name and honour of Carthage.

For these tydings of Mago, euery
man being merueyler, Himilco, a man of the
faction of the Barchins, thought to fynd
an occasyon to checke Hannon. What
nowe Hanno (sayth he) doeth it forthinke
the of the begynnyng of the warre with
the Romaines? Commaunde Annibal
to be

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses.

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to be deliuered nowe vnto theym: or for-
bidde in this so fortunat time thanks
to be geuen to the immortall goddes.

Nowe let vs heare a senatour of Rome
speake in the senate house of Carthage.
Whereunto Hanno answered.

I was detcrmined fathers conscripte, at
this time, in your so great and common
loy, to haue holden my peace, and to haue
spoken nothing, which should haue bene
displeasaunte to you: but I can nowe no
lesse do, but aunswere the senatour that
inquired of me, whether it sozethinketh
me of the warre enterprised agaynst the
Romaines or no. Wherefore mine aun-
swere shalbe this to Himilco, that I soz-
thinke me yet of the warre taken, & shal
ill repent it, nor shall at any time cease
to sozethinke it, and blame cure victori-
ous capitayne, vntill I se the warre take
up and ended by some tollerable waye &
condition, neither shal any other thyngs
cause me to cease from the desire of the
olde annient peace, save onelye a newe
peace made. These goodly newes, which
Mago hath blased abroad, are verge ioy-
ful to Himilco, and other Annibals fren-
des and seruauntes: yea they may, be al-

A.

so

so fayfull to me, for our prosperities in warre, if we take our good fortune, when it cometh, that cause vs to haue better and more profitable peace. But if we let passe this time, in the which we may be thought rather to graunt peace, than to craue it: I doubt, lest this joy wil deceiue vs, and come to nothinge. Nowe let vs discusse this matter seriously, and ye shal perceiue what this greates ioye is. He sayth, the army of our enemies is slaine yet he commaundeth souldiours to be sent him. What other thing would a man desire, if he were overcome? He sayeth also that the Campes and tentes of both the hostes of our enemies are taken, with a ryche praye and spoyle: Yet he commaundeth, that we shal send him graine and money. What other thinge coulde a manne desire, if he were robbed and dyuen from his owne tentes? But now I haue answered Himilco to his demands, I would that eyther Himilco or Mago would aunswere me vnto that I shall aske of them. If the fielde fought at Cannas was to the utter subuersion of the Romaneyn empyre, and death of the whole hoste, and all Italie like

yeelde the m, & forsake the Romans. First whether any of the people of Rome come fleing to vs, and forsake the Romans? Moreover, whether any of the. xxxv. tribunes haue fledde, and come to Annibal which both thinges when Mago hadde denied to be done: It muste than folowe (sayd he) that we haue many enemies yet left at Rome. But I would faine knowe what courage and hope that multitude of our enemies hath? When Mago had sayde, he could not tel. There is nothing more easy (said Hanno) to be knowne. Did the Romanes sende any legates to Annibal for peace? whether had ye any knoweledge, that the Romaynes made any mention of peace at Rome? When he also had denied that. Then haue we (sayde he) as great warre euen nowe in hande, as we had the fyrste daye that Anniball entred into Italie. There be manye of vs alieue, that do remember yet howe variable the victorie was in the fyrste warres that were betwixt Carthage and Rome. Dure warres and busynes (bothe by sea and lande) were thoughte neuer to be more prosperous, than before Caius Lucatius, and

The warres betwene the
Appius Posthumius were consuls: But
yet in theyr time we were overcome at
the isles of Egates. Lykewysse now, if
Fortune do tourne (as she is alwayes
variable) which I pray vnto the Goddes
maye not happen: Would ye than hope
to haue peace, when we are overcome,
the which now we can not get, although
we vanquish and overcome the Romi-
nes: If any mention of peace were made
eitherto be geuen to oure enemies, or
els to be taken of them: I could tell than
ryght well what to saye. But in case ye
will onely common of the demaundes of
Mago, I thinke, if oure people haue so
vanquished our enemies, as hath bene
declared, it is not nedefull to sende them
that which Mago desireth. And if they
would mocke vs with theyr vaine report
of victorie, when none suche is hadde in
deede: I thinke then they oughte lesse to
be succoured at our handes.

¶ With this oration of Hanno, very
fewe were moued to be of his opinion.
For the enuie and hatred, that they bare
vnto him, and also the great kinrede of
the other, caused him to be the worse
heard.

Romaynes and the Carthaginians. 23
hearde. Agayne, they were so reioyced
with the sodayne and presente ioye, that
they would heare nothinge that shoulde
binder the same: Supposyng the warres
shoulde soone be finished, if they dyd send
anye helpe now at this time into Italy.
¶ Wherefore by the hole consent of the se-
nate it was concluded, to sende to Anni-
ball fortye thousande Numidians, to his
succours, and fortye Elephantes, and a
great summe of money. And the Dicta-
tour of Carthage was sent into Spayne
with Mago, to hire twentye thousande
footemen, and foure thousand horsemen
which shoulde furnishe again the armies
both in Spayne, and also in Italye. But
these thinges were forslowd and done
by leysure, as commonlye it happeth in
prosperitee. But beside the naturall in-
dustrie of the Romaynes. Fortune also
wrought muche for them: for they hap-
ned that yere vpon a Consul, that sought
all meanes possible, to further all suche
thinges as shoulde be thought necessarye
to be brought to passe by him. And Mar-
cus Junius, beinge Dictatoure, besides
the Legions, which were appointed be-
fore,

The warres betwene the
foze, and the bondmen of the cite, with
other succours suche as he could gather
together of diuers countreyes adioyning
to fournishe the armie: He lepte than be-
sides his horse, sayenge: All such as haue
committed any maner of crime worthy
of death, and they that are condemned
to prison for money, if they would be
souldiours with him, and go to the war,
he would pay theyr dettes, and lose them
from theyr bandes and punishment.
Thus had he of that sorte sixe thousand
souldiours, whome he armed with the ar-
mour that C. Flaminius tooke
from the Frenchemen, and then
he went oute of the citee with
siue and twenty thousand
harneyd men.

Of the battayle betwene Marcellus and
Anniball before the citee of Nola, and of
Annibals wintering in Capua, the
delicate pleasures, whereby he
withdrew the heartes and
courage of his men from
all warlike faction.
Cap. xxviii.

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After Anniball had taken Ca-
pua, he assayed manye and di-
uers wayes to haue gottē Na-
ples, which when he could not
brynge to passe, he wente from thens to
the fieldes of the Polans, assayinge by
many wayes to winne the towne of No-
la. The senate, and namelye the chiefe
stacke surely to their old frendes the Ro-
maines: The cōmons being (as they are
wont) desirous of newes, inclined all to
Anniball. wherfore the senate, fearing to
strive with the commons openly (against
whose power, if needs required, they
were notable to resist) priuily dissemblinge
found meanes to prolonge the time, say-
enge, they were contente to be yelded to
Hanniball, but they knewe not after
what maner & condition they shuld yelde
During which time of delaye, they sente
ambassadors to Marcelles the pretor of
Rome, being then at Cannusiū, shewing
him the circumstance of the matter: wil-
ling him to come to them if he intended
that they shuld kepe the towne, who per-
ceiuing their feefastnes, greatly praised
the senate of Nola, desiring them to per-
seuer in theyr purpose: and vse suche
subtilties

After

The warres betwene the
subtiltee, in prolonginge of time as they
befor had done, untill his commynge to
them, whiche shoulde be shortly: In the
meane season, he willed them, not to be
aknowen of any succour that was cum-
ming. Than freight he made him ready
and with his army toke the waye to Ca-
lacia, and ouer the riuer Tulturnus, and
so to Pola.

Anniball before the Pretors commynge
went from Pola to Naples, verie desy-
rous to winne some towne that laye on
the sea coastes, to whiche the shippes
might haue free and safe passage frome
Africa. But when he vnderstoode Na-
ples was defended by a Romaine cap-
taine (the Neapolitanes had gotten the-
ther M. Junius Sillanus) and shoulde as
wel be kept out there as he was at Pola
he went & layd siege to Nuceria, whiche
at laste, vsinge manye wayes, he caused
them by famine to yelde. Marcellus was
by that time in the towne of Pola, and
was no surer of his owne souldiours tha-
n he was of the princes of Pola: but he fea-
red the commons, and aboue al other he
dradde a yonge man, verie hardye, and
of a noble lignage, whose name was Lu-
cius Bantius, who was much desyrous

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to yelde the towne to Anniball. For being
founde amonge a heape of deade bodyes
and sore wounded in the battayle at Can-
nas, Anniball caused hym to be healed,
and sente home wyth large gyftes, for
whiche gentill dede, he wolde fayne that
Pola shoulde be yelded to Anniball. Mar-
cellus perceiued this Bantius to be trou-
bled in his minde with such study, so that
he muste eyther with punishmente be re-
strained, or els by benygite reconciled, he
sent for him, and so beninglye with wo-
des, promyses, and gyftes entertayned
hym, that there was none in the citee so
sure after the Romans as he.

¶ When Anniball was come from Nu-
ceria (whiche he of late had taken) before
the gates of Pola, Marcellus was entred
the citee, not fearynge to kepe his camps
abrode, but lest his tarynge wythoute
shoulde be an occasion of betraynge & yel-
ding by the citee. Than began smal skir-
myshinge betwene the citee and the Car-
thaginenses: at whiche time the princes
of Pola shewed Marcellus, that the com-
mon people had secrete metynges and
communication in the nighte, wyth the
Carthaginenses: in the whiche it was
pur-

The warres betwene the
purposed, that when the Romayns were
gone out to fight, they woulde take the
stiffe and cariage, and shutte the gates;
and so when they had gotten bothe the
stiffe and goodes, they wolde receyue the
Carthaginenses into the towne in steede
of the Romans. When they had shewed
these conspiracies to Marcellus, he praised
they fidelities greatlye, and thoughte to
assaye what he might do by battaile, be-
fore any such trouble shuld be within the
citee. Firste he ordered his hoste beyng
diuided in thre partes, at the .iii. gates,
which opened agaynst his ennemys. He
commaunded the stiffe and baggage to
folow a pety space after. And at the in-
ner gate he set the strength of the Roman
legions, the newe souldiours and other
that came to their succours, he set at the
two other gates, straghtlye commaun-
dyng, that the Polans in no wyse shoulde
come on the walles, nor nere the gates.
He set also certayne souldiours to a waite
on the cartage and stiffe, lest when they
were busy in bataile, the Polanes might
spyle & take it. When all things were thus
put in good order, they stood still within
the walles, without making any shewe.
Annibal

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Annibal standing in aray in the fieldes
a longe space, as he was wonte, merua-
led that he sawe nother the hoste come to
the fieldes, nor no man armed on the wal-
les: When he supposed, that they coun-
saile was knowen, and that for feare the
commys of the towne were constrained
to forsake their promyse. Wherefore he
sente parte of the souldiours to the tentes
to fetch the ordynance and all thynges ne-
cessary to assaulte the walles, thyngyng
that if he wet on them whyles they abode
in this stape, that the common people of
the citee wold make some rumour on the
walles. Incontinent whyles euery man
as the commandement was, ran to his
business, touchyng the assaulte, and the
host went to the wals: the gates were so-
deinly opened. Marcellus commaunded to
spede the baners, and the trumpettes to
blow, and the footemen firste, and af-
ter the horsemen to renne on theyr enne-
mies. Some authours say, that there were
slayne at that skarmyshe .iii. M. iii. C.
Carthaginenses, and but one man of the
Romaynes: whether the victorie were so
greate, or whether it were lesse, the acte
was great, & the conduct noble. Annibal
hauing

hauyng no hope of opteyning the towne, wente than to Acerras, and Marcellus strenght caused the gates of Pola to be shutte, lest any man shuld passe forth: and made anon straght and diligent examination, who they were, that would haue betrayed the towne. He beheaded. lxxx. of them, and caused their goodes to be distributed among the commons. And after he had comytted the charge of keepyng of the towne to the senate, he remoued with his hole host beyond Suzsala.

¶ Anniball, after he had wonne Acerras came to Cassilinum, where they so valyantlye, defended theym selues, that Annibal, beyng halfe ashamed, left the siege and went to winter at Capua. And there he kepte his hoste in houses for the most parte of the wynter, who of longe tyme before had endured agaynst all kyndes of paynes and trauaile, hauing smal knowledge of pleasure, or ease. And they that could not before be overcome wyth any kynde of misery or payne, were than losse with vnmearable pleasures, wherein they were wholly drowned, so greedy they were thereof, after they accustomed paynes. Thus toke they all they delyte in slepe

sleepe and wyne, in bankettes, hauntyng of harlottes and bathes with dayly rest and ydelnes, which delicate facion withdrew both they courage, and also they strength from they bodies and myndes, so that afterward they ioy comfote and strength was more by remembraunce of the victories, whiche they had opteyned before, than in they present strength: In so muche that to let his souldoyers thus solow they lusses, was thought amonge expert warriours a greater hynderaunce vnto hym, than that he did not leade his host to some freight after the battayle of Cannas. For that taryng and doubting was thought but only a prolongyng of the victory, but this faute made them vnable afterwarde to overcome. So that when he remoued from Capua after the winter, it seemed that he leade forth a strange army, other than he brought thither, they obserued none of they accustomed sorte of warre, some retourned to they harlottes, manye other, as sone as they beganne to fele payne, trauaile, and hardenesse of warre, and that they were fayne to be couered wyth skynnes, they were so werge, and the warre seemed to them

The warres betwene the
them so tedious, that they wanted both
they: strength of bodie, and hardinesse of
minde, whiche they had before. A greate
parte of the hoste withoute they: wages,
stole from they: capitaines, nother hadde
they anye other denne or receptacle but
Capua.

¶ Of the long siege and wyppynge of Cassilinum
with the death and destruction of the consul
Posthumius and his hoste in the woddes
of Aptand by the craft of the frenche
men. Cap. xxiij.

When it drew toward the sum-
mer, Annibal remoued againe
to Cassilinum, where without
assaulte giuing but only by con-
tinuall spege keepinge, he brought the in-
habitauntes thereof almoste to extreame
pouertee and famine.

The dictatour in this season was gone to
Rome, to seeke by diuynacyons the for-
tune that shuld happen. Titus Sempronius
was left as ruler of the army. Mar-
cellus being at Pola wolde haue succor-
red them of Cassilinum, saue that the ci-
tezens of Pola wold in no case suffer him
to go from them, fearynge lesse after his
departe.

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departure, the inhabitauntes of Capua
wolde haue inuaded theym. The ryuer
also of Vulturnus was risen so hygh,
that he coulde not well passe ouer, but in
greate leopardsye. Gracchus was left
with a certaine men of war, to lie aboute
Cassilinu, who moned not, nor broughte
them anye succoure, because he hadde in
commaundement of the dictatoure, that
he shoulde moue no battayle in his absēce:
yet hard he such newes from Cassilinum
whiche wolde haue moued a man to haue
broken his commaundment. For it was
shewed hym, that some beyng not able to
susteyne the greate hunger and samyne,
without aduysēment, destroyed them selves.
And some despyrreng the death, wold stand
on the walles without armour, to the in-
ten they myghte be slaine with the shotte
of they: ennemies. Gracchus seying that
he durste not helpe them by battayle, be-
cause of the contrary commaundment of
his dictatour. And there was no remedie
to byrge them sustinance, for that in no
case coulde be done withoute battayle.
When he gathered in the silles as many
kynnes of coyne as he coulde, and there-
with filled a great nūber of vessels or ba-
gelles,

The warres betwene the
telles, and sent a messenger to the rulers
of the citee, certifying them, that he wold
the next nyght sende the vessels with
grayne downe the water, warning them
to be redy to receiue them at the coming
of the tyde. The nyght folowynge, euery
man went to the ryuer to fary the com-
myng of the graine, accordyng to the pro-
myse of Gracchus, at the last they myght
see the counties come swymmyng downe
the middell of the streame, whych they re-
ceyued gladly and deuoyded it equallye a-
mong them. Thus they contynued by the
space of. iiii. nyghtes, so longe they
disceyued the watchmen of theyr en-
myes: but at the laste the water arose
muche hygher than it was wonte, by the
reason of a continuall rayne that fell, so
that the streame was moze swyft than it
was wont to be, wherby the vessels were
dryuen to lād on that part where the host
of Annibal laye, and manye were founde
stykynge amonge the wyllowes, that
grew on the bankes of the ryuer, whiche
was shewed vnto Annibal, who after
warde, with greater diligence, watched
the ryuer of Tullurnus, lest he should by
such meanes be estelones deceyued. was

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 99
was there such like deuylse made by sen-
ding of nuttes downe the streame, in ba-
relles till it was espyed. At lengthe they
were broughte to suche powertee, that
they were constrained to take skynnes
strynge, and the coueringes of shields
whiche they made softe in warme water
and so ate theym, neyther refrayned
they to eat myse and suche kinde of ver-
min, and all kinde of herbes, and rootes
whyche grewe wythout in the feilde ad-
ioynyng to the walles. This also percei-
ued Annibal: wherfore he caused the
ground to be plowed vp, where all such
herbes and rootes did growe to his ene-
mies succour, wythout the wall.
In whyche newe plowed groundes, the
men of the towne sowed Pasnepeeede.
Wherat Annibal cried, Shall I farye at
Castilinum while these seedes be growe
vp able for theyr foode and sustinance?
Wherewith he wold heare
of no communication of truce, he then
was contented to couenaunt with them
for theyr redemption. The pryce of theyr
redemption was. vii. ounces of golde for
euery of them. When the couenauntes
were made, they yelded the selues. And
they

they were kepte in prison untill all the money was payde. And after sente wyth good leaze to Cumas. There came frō Brenest to the garrison of Cassilinum .C. and seventy souldiours, of which the most part were slayne and fainished, the residue went to Brenest with their captayne Manicius: Cassilinum was given to the citezens of Capua, and kept wyth vii. C. of Annibales souldiours, least when they were departed frome thence, the Romans should take it agayne. The senate of Rome appoynted double stipend to the souldiours of Brenest, & also gave them fife yeares licence to be absent fro the warres, for their great fidelitie. When were the Romans busy in choosing newe souldiours, to supply their places that were slaine in the battaile before. Lucius Posthumius, & Titus Sempronius were chosen consules. The dictator, whē the officers were chosen, went to Theanum, where the army wintered. He left the mayster of the horsemen at Rome, who anon after he had receyved the office, counsayled with the fathers about choosing and ordeyning of their armies for that yere. And when they were most

most diligente aboute theyr busines, tydings was brought to the citee of a new slaughter and losse; that was then hapned vnto theym, one euell chaunce that came comming after another. The truth was that Lucius Posthumius and his armie was destroyed in France by thys meane. There was a great wide wood, called by the Frenchmen Litana, through which he should lead his host, of y^e which wood the Frenchmen had so cut all the trees on both sides the way, if they were not moued, they woulde stand still: but beinge anye thinge moued, they woulde anone fall. Posthumius had in his hoste foure and twenty thousand men. The Frenchmen hadde bestowd theyr camp round aboute the compasse of the woodde, and when the armie of the Romaynes was well entred the woodde, they caste downe the farthest parte of the trees, growynge in the borders of the woodde, which when they were moued fell one vpon an other through the woodde hauynge no stape, throllynge downe & sleing the Romans as they passed, both men and horses, so that scarcely twentie men escaped, the most parte were

The warres betwene the
almoste paste breath and dead of the hur-
tes of the trees falling on them, the res-
due, that escaped and would haue fledde
being amased wyth the sodayne chaunce
more slayne by the Frenchmen, who be-
ing armed, beset the wood round about.
There were a fewe taken, which sought
to go ouer a brydge, whiche the French-
men kepte, but anone they were compas-
sed and beset aboute with the French-
men. Where the consull Posthumius,
who in no wise would be taken of his
enemies, manfully and nobly dyed.
They broughthe the ornaments of his
bodye, and his head, beinge cut from the
bodye, to the chiefe temple in that coun-
trei, with singing and much mirth.
They poured and censed the skul with
in and without, and couered the brayne
panne ouer with gold, vsing it to drinke
therein, when they did sacrifice at anye
soleinne feast: and also it serued the prie-
stes and bishops of the temple, as a cup
at the sacrifice. The praye was no lesse
to the Frenchmen than the victorie, for
although the most part of the cattel was
slayne, with the fallinge of the trees, yet
they lost nothinge of the substance that
they

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 101
they had about them.

When this slaughter was knowen at
Rome, the citezens were in such sorowe
and trouble for a greate space, that they
shutte their windowes and shoppes, as
though it had ben in the night: but with
in short space the senatours charged the
officers, to go about the citie, and cause
the shoppes & doores to be opened and to
cause the citezens to leane their sorowe.
Then Titus Sempsonius called a Se-
nate or court, in the whiche he exhorted
and counsaied the fathers conscript, that
they whose heartes were not overcome
for the greate destruction and losse of the
battaile at Cannas, should not now suf-
fer theyn selues to be vanquished wyth
this muche lesse sorowe and calamitie:
admonishing theim, that as concerning
the Carthaginenses and Annibal, al was
(as he trusted it should be) very wel. And
as for the warres with the Frenchmen
it might be deferred for a season: for at al
times the reuengynge of their harmes,
was in the power of the goddes and the
Romaynes. Furthermore, he shewed
theim, that they ought chiefly to coun-
saile and worke against Anniball circu-
spectly

The warres betwene the

almoste paste breath and dead of the hurt
tes of the trees falling on them, the res-
due, that escaped and wold haue fledde
being amased wyth the sodayne chaunce
more slayne by the Frenchmen, who be-
ing armed, beset the wood round about.
There were a fewe taken, which sought
to go ouer a brydge, whiche the French-
men kepte, but anone they were compas-
sed and beiet aboute with the French-
men. Where the consull Posthumius,
who in no wise woulde be taken of his
enemies, manfully and nobly dyed.
They broughte the ornaments of his
bodye, and his head, beinge cut from the
bodye, to the chiefe temple in that coun-
trei, with singing and much mirth.
They purged and censed the skul with
in and without, and couered the brayne
panne ouer with gold, vsing it to drinke
therein, when they did sacrifice at anye
soleinne feast: and also it serued the prie-
stes and bishops of the temple, as a cup
at the sacrifice. The praye was no lesse
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it might be deferred for a season: for at al
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was in the power of the goddes and the
Romaynes. Furthermoze, he shewed
theym, that they ought chiefly to coun-
saile and worke against Annibal circu-
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nate or court, in the whiche he exhorted
and counsaied the fathers conscript, that
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times the reuengyng of their harmes,
was in the power of the goddes and the
Romaynes. Furthermoze, he shewed
theym, that they ought chiefly to coun-
saie and worke against Anniball circū-
spectly

The warres betwene the
spectly, preparing with what numbꝛe of
men he might be resisted, and he first rea-
son'd what numbꝛe of footemen and
horsemen, of Citizens and other theyꝛ
frendes of Italy, were in the hoste of the
dictatoure. Then Marcellus declared
what numbꝛe was in his armye, y he had
charge of: And thus after they had ima-
gined and decreed, what numbꝛe shoulde
satisfy the two consuls hostes, they a-
greed, that the warre against the French-
men shoulde be omitted untill an other
time.

Of the victory of the Scipions in
Spayne. Cap. xxx.

Whiles these thynges were
done and pꝛpared in Italye,
the Romaine Capitaynes in
Spayne were not ydell, but as
than had the upper hande of theyꝛ enno-
mies, P. Scipio, and C. Scipio his bro-
ther parted theyꝛ armies betwixt them,
so that Cneius shoulde haue the lande,
and Publius the sea. There was greate
warre in Spaine betwene the Scipions
and Haskuball: but when it was kno-
en in Spayne, that Haskuball shoulde

Romaines and the Carthaginenses. 102
goe wyth his hoste into Italye, a great
numbꝛe of them turned theyꝛ heartes to
the Romaines. Wherfore Haskuball
sent letters to Carthage, certifyinge the
Senate, howe dangerous his depar-
ting out of Spayne shoulde be: And howe
that befoze he were passed the river of
Iberus, the more part of Spayne woulde
tourne to the Romans. Whiche letters
although at the first they mou'd the Se-
nate muche, not withstandinge because
theyꝛ hole mindes were geue to y charge
& busines of the affaires of Italye, they
chaged not their purpose, cōferringe the
sending of Haskuball into Italye: but in
his place they sent Himilco with an host
furnished to kepe the seas & the land, and
also the countrey of Spayne: who when
he had all thinge necessarye provided for
him, with as great speede as mighte be,
passed the countrey of Spayne, untill he
came to Haskuball. And as soone as he
had shew'd him the commaundemente
of the senate, and that Haskuball like-
wise informed him, howe he shoulde de-
meane him selfe in the warres of Spaine
he returned againe to his tētes wth speede
But Haskuball, ere euer he remoued
his

The warres betwene the
his campe, caused tares of money to be
raysed of all countreyes that were vnder
his obeyſance: knowing wel, that Anniball
had bought certayne passages of the
Frenchemen, and that wythoute theyr
helpe, the entre into the Alpes or hyghe
mountaynes, was harde to be obteyned.
When he had gathered greate ſummes
of money, he went downe with ſpede to
the riuer of Iberus. And when the pur-
poſe of the Carthaginenſes and Haſdrubals
iourneye was known and ſhewed
to the Scipions, they ſetting al other bu-
ſines aparte, with bothe their hoſtes to-
gether, ſet forward to meeete him, & pre-
pared to let his enterpriſe: ſuppoſinge,
that if Haſdruball, beinge a capitayne
and that great newe hoſte of the Car-
thaginenſes, were ioyned to Anniball
whom alone Italy was ſcarcelye able to
withſtand) that the empyre of Rome
ſhould ſoone be at an ende. Thus they
being troubled with care of this buſines
brought their hoſt to Iberus. And when
they had paſſed the riuer, conſultinge
longe, whether they ſhoulde pytche their
campe neere to theyr ennemies, or elles
guerrunne and ſubdue ſome of the Car-
thagin

Romaynes and the Carthaginenſes. 103
Carthaginenſes frendes, therby to ſtaye
and prolonge theyr ennemies purpoſed
iourney. At laſte they determyned to be-
ſiege the citee, called Ibera (of the wa-
ter, which was nere it) the rycheſt of the
countrey at that tyme. Whiche thyng
whan Haſdrubal knew, in ſtede of bring-
yng ſuccour to his frendes, he wente to
beſiege a Citee, that was lately yelded
to the Romains: ſo than the Romaynes
leſte their ſiege, and tourned the battaile
whollye to Haſdruball. There was be-
twixt the two hoſtes, for the ſpace of cer-
tayne dayes, the ſpace of ſiue myles, du-
ryng which time they were not without
ſmall ſkymmiſhing. At length, as it were
pretended of bothe partes, at one tyme
bothe the hole hoſtes dyſcended into the
playne, redye to geue battayle. The Ro-
maine hoſte was deuyded into thre par-
tes, parte of the footemen were ſette be-
fore the ſtanderdes, and part behind, the
hoſemen kept the ſydes or wynges. On
the other parte Haſdruball ſette in the
myddell battayle the Spanyardes, and
in the right wyng the Carthaginenſes,
and in the left wyng the Affricans, with
the hyed ſtraunge ſouldoyours: And he
put

The warres betwene the

put the Numidyans to the footemen of Carthage, the residue of the Affricans he sette before the wynges: nother wold he sette all the Numidyans in the ryghte wyng, but those, whose qualites were such in lighnes and nimblenes, that riding vpon one horse, and leading a spare horse in theyr hands, whan the one was weyr, they wold amonge the thickest of their enemies leape armed on the other freshe horse, theyr agilitee and quyknes was so great, & the horse of kinde so gentyl and well taught. Thus stode they in aray, & littel difference there was, other in the number or kyndes of souldiours of either hoste. Notwith standynge the souldiours heres were not like. The roman capitaines, althoughe they foughte farre from home, yet might they easlye perswade their souldiours, that they shuld fight for the cuntrey, and for the citee of Rome. Wherfore by that doubtful battayle they purposed, other to overcome, or dye, trusting thereby to haue shorte retourne home to their Countrey. The other hoste had not so sterne valiant and hardy men for y more part of the were spaniards, which had rather be overcome in Spaine

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 104

Spain, thā winning the victorie, he conducted into Italy. Wherfore at the fyrste meetinge, whan the dartes were scarflye throwen, the middell warde fledde, and gaue place to the Romaynes: who came vpon them with great violence, notwithstanding the battayles were nothyng lesse in the wyngs, for on the one side the Carthaginenses, and on the other syde the Affricans came on them boldlye, and fought egerly, but whan y Roman hoste hadde gotten into the myddell together, they were stronge inoughe to put awaye the wynges of theyr enemies. Wherfore beyng in number and strength best, they shortlye put the other to the worse. There was a greater nūber of men slaine and vnlesse the Spanyardes had fled away so thicke, before the bataille was begunne, there had scarfely anye of theym remayned vnslayne. There was no bataille betwene the horsemen. For as sone as the Mauritanes and Numidyans saw the myddell warde overcome and put to flyghte, they dryuynge the Elephantes before theym, sodaynely departed and fled: leauing both the wynges bare. Was draball remayning til the last end of the bataille,

The warres betwene the
battayle, fled with a felwe with hym.
That battayle caused the heartes of the
Spanyarde, whyche doubted before in
the frendshyppe of the Romaynes, to be
wholly geuen to theim. And it dyd not
onely take the hope from Hasdruball of
leadynge his host into Italy: but also that
there was scarce tariynge from hym in
Spaine. Which thyngs after they were
certified to the Senate at Rome by the
Scipions letters, they were not so glad
of the victorie, as that Hasdrubal and his
host were prohibited the enter into Italy.

The oracion of the Samnites and the Vir-
pines to Anniball, desyringe his helpe a-
gainste the Romaynes, wyth the order
of Marcellus and Anniball about
Nola. Cap. xxxi.

When these thyngs were done
in Spayne, the Romaynes or-
dered theyr busynes wysely in
Italy. Titus Sempronius,
and Quintus Fabius Maximus were
chosen consuls. Marcellus than laye at
Nola, and he made dyuers oute rennynges
with his army into the fieldes of the
Virpines

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 109

Virpines and Samnites, and so destroy-
ed all wyth the sworde and fyre, that he
renued the memoire of the olde destruc-
tion of Samnium, and than freyghte
wayes both the nations sente theyr mes-
sengers to Anniball at ones, who spake
to hym after this maner.

¶ We were (O Anniball) ennemyes to
the Romaynes of our selues, as long as
our weapons, our harneys, and strength
were able to maynteine vs. Afterwarde
whan we had smalle hope and truste in
them, we fell into amitee with Pyrrhus
of whom beyng forsaken, as no longer
able to defende vs, we toke truce & peace
necessaie, for that we were vnable to
withstand the Romaynes. And we haue
endured in the same peace the space of
fiftie yeres, vnto thy comynge into Ita-
ly. Sens whyche tyme thy onely gentyl-
nes towarde our citezens (whyche beinge
taken, thou sendest to vs agayne) as wel
as thy vertue & fortune, so hath wonne
vs vnto the, that yf thou oure frende be
safe and in good helth, we not only wold
not feare the Romaynes, but also, yf it
were lawfull to be spoken, we wolde not
feare the goddis. But verilye not onely
thou

The warres betwene the
thou beyng safe and sound, but also pre-
sente, where as thou maiest also beholde
our houses burnynge, and here the way-
lyng of our wyues and chyl dren, we are
so spoyled, and oure goodes wasted and
dystroyed, that it may be thoughte, that
Marcus Marcellus hath overcome at
Cannas, and not Anniball: and also the
Romains maye reioyce, that thou onely
as it were at one battaile, art strong and
valyaunte, and at the nexte withered and
faint. We kepte warre with the Romay-
nes the space of one hundred yeres, beyng
succoured by no man, sayynge that Py-
rrhus the space of. ii. yeaeres, dyd encrease
his strength and powet with oure men,
rather than defende vs by hys power.
We wyll not reioyse of our prosperitee,
whan we subdued Consulles with their
hostes at one time, and brought them in-
to our subiection: but omittynge all suche
prosperous chaunces that we had, wee
myghte shewe those thynges that hap-
ped infortunatlye to vs at that time, if
there were anye, with lesse shame than
we may now declare those that be chann-
ed to vs. There dydde invade the costes
of oure Countreys at that tyme. ii. no-
ble

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 106
ble dictatours, the maisters of horsemen
and two Consulles, wyth two consulles
hostes, hauinge all thyng prouyded for
them necessarye, ere they woulde ad-
uenture to robbe and dystroye our coun-
treys. But now we bee almost a praye
to one lyttell hoste, beyng lesse for the
succours of Pola. For we they beyng
but a smalle number, after the man-
ner of robbers, overcome oure Coun-
treys with lesse feare, than yf there were
in the Romayne fieldes. The cause is,
that nother thou dost defende vs, and
also that all our lusty yong and valiaunt
men, which without doubt, yf they were
at home, would defende vs, are with the,
and vnder thy banner: neyther hadde
we knowne the, nor thyne hoste, hadde
not it happed, that throughe thy myghte
there were so many Romans slaine and
put to flight, to whome we may suppose
it but a lyght thing to suppress our rob-
bers, rounyng abroad in the fieldes with-
out order, rennyng whither as soolye
and bayne hope of a praye doth leade
them, whom a fewe of thy Numidians
wold vtterly confound. And I doubt not
but thou wilt send vs some sure helpe and
succour,

succour, excepte thou iudge vs vnworthy to be defended and holpen, whan heretofore thou thoughtest vs not vnworthy to be taken as thy frendes and companions, receyvinge vs into thy amptee and frendshyppe.

¶ To this they lamentable oracion Anniball answered, that the Hirpines and Samnites dyd shewe their ruine & losse, requyringe helpe therein, and also dyd complayne, that they were leste without succoure and vnholpen, and all at ones: where as they should firste haue shewed theyr cause, askyng succoure in theyr myschiese, and afterwarde, if they coulde not haue healpe, than to complayne, that theyr suite was in vayne. Neuerthelesse he promised them succours & helpe, not that his army shoulde come into any of their groundes, but that he wolde make theyr neyghbours, whiche were frendes to the Romaynes: whereby he shoulde drawe the Romaines from vengeance of them, makinge them glad to defende theyr frendes. And as concerning the warre betwene hym and the Romaynes, of the battayle at Trasimenus, were nobler than that of Trebia, and the

the battaile at Cannas, more nobler than that of Trasimenus: he would make the same and memozye of the victozy at Cannas, but obscure and nothinge to be esteemed, in comparison of a more noble and triumphante victozye, that he trusted to haue of them. With this aunswere and great rewardes he sent theim home: and leauing a litell compaigne at Tifatis, he toke his iourney to Pola. At the same time Hanno came to hym from the Businians, wyth stufte sente from Carthage, and with elephantes.

¶ Whan Anniball had pitched his tentes not farre from Pola, he founde all thinges otherwise than it was shewed him by the legates of the Samnites, so Marcellus so ruled him selfe euer and all his men, that he committed nothing to fortune, neither leste any thinge rashely in danger of his ennemies: so when he went about any spoyle of the countrey, or to get any pray, he did it as prouident as though he shoulde haue done it with Anniball beyng present. And when he perceiued Anniball to be come: he kepte his hoste wythin the citee. Whereuppon Hanno appoched nigh vnto the wall, calling

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P. I. calling

The warres betwene the
callinge for the Herennius Bassus, and
Perius Petreus, who by the licence of
Marcellus went forth to talke with him
Then vnto them by an interpretour he
began to extolle the vertue and fortune
of Anniball, and dispised the nobilitie of
the Romans, whyche (he sayde) decayed
together wth theyr power and strength
whiche nobilitie and power if it were
lyke as it was in olde time, notwithstanding
knowing the harde and cruell em-
pire and gouernaunce of the Romaynes
and the great gentlenes of Anniball to-
wardes al the captiues of Italy, the frend-
ship & amitie of the Carthaginenses was
to be preferred before the amitie of the
Romans. And if both the consuls, wth
theyr hostes were at Pola, they were no
more to be compared to Anniball, than
they were at the battel of Cannas: much
lesse one pretor with a fewe newe & vn-
skilled souldiours, was able to defende
Pola. And that they rather than Anniball,
oughte to care, after what maner
Pola should come to Anniballs posses-
sion: either take by violence, or yeldded, for
there was no remedye but haue it he
would, as he had Capua & Puceria. He
sayd

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sayd further, that he woulde not diuine
what shoulde happen to the citee beinge
taken, but durst rather promise & under-
take, that if they would yelde Marcellus
and the citee to Anniball, that no man
but they them selues shoulde prescribe the
bandes and lawes of the frendship that
shoulde be betwene them.

Then vnto Herennius Bassus aunswere
red: that the amitie betwene the Romay-
nes and the Polanes had continued ma-
ny yeares, of the which neyther of them
did forthinke. He sayd furthermore, that
if they shoulde haue chaunged or broken
theyr faithes, when theyr fortune sayled
or chaunged, that now it were to late to
chaunge: for that other chaunged a long
time ago: And that it had folly for the
to haue sought succour of the Romaines
if they had bene minded to haue yeldded
the towne to Anniball. Wherefore theyr
minde was, that wth those, whyche
came to theyr succours, they were in all
thinges ioyned and surely knit together
and to the death shoulde be. Which aun-
swere toke from Anniball the hope of ob-
teynnyng the citee wythoute battayle:
Wherefore he besette the citee rounde
D. II. about

The warres betwene the
about, intending to geue assaulte there
vnto on all partes.

¶ So soone as Marcellus sawe that his
enemies appoched the walles, he orde-
red his hoste wisely within the walles,
and then sodaynely issued oute to battell
making great noyse. Some at the fyrste
encountringe were dyuen backe and
slayne, but when the armies ioyned to-
gether, the battayle beganne to be verie
fierse on bothe partes: And no fayle, it
had bene a sore fyghte, hadde not a huge
tempest and rayne departed them: wher-
by hauinge bothe egre myndes, the one
was dyuen into the towne: and the o-
ther to his campe or tentes, & litell hurte
done, where (beyng bothe desirous of
battayle) they abode al the nexte daye, so
great was the violence of the storme.

The thirde daye Anniball sente parte of
his souldiours, to robbe and spoyle the
fieldes: which when Marcellus knewe,
he straght waies brought his host forth
to the battayle, and Anniball on the o-
ther side was nothinge behinde. There
was almoste a mile betwene the towne
and the campe, wher the two hostes met
together. The crye that was rayled on
both

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 109

both partes caused the compaigne to re-
tourne to battayle, whiche were befoze
sent a spoiling, & the polans wyth theyr
power were readye to encrease the Ro-
maines hoste: whom Marcellus (greatly
praysinge for their good willes and cou-
rage) commaunded to stand in arais readye
to theyr succour, and to conuay them
which were wounded out of the battaile
And that they should in no wise fyghte,
vntyll he commaunded them. The bat-
taye was strong, the souldiours fought
with all theyr myghtes, and lyke wyse
the Capitaynes prouoked theym to the
same.

Marcellus had the boldly withstād those
that were ouercome not thre dayes be-
foze, & that not longe agoone fled frō Cu-
ma as bacabundes, and the yere befoze
were dyuen from Pola, he beinge capy-
taine. And to comfort them the more, he
sayd, that al their ennemies were not in
battaile, some were a rouing in the fel-
des, & those that fought in battaile, were
wekened and become vnlustye with plea-
sure, riot, drunknes, & hauntinge of bar-
lots at Capua. And that the strengthes,
courage, and mighte of their bodies and
P.iii. heartes

The warres betwene the
heartes, by the whiche they passed the
great mountaynes called alpes, and the
hilles of Pyrenes was cleane gone.
He sayd also, that those were the leaui-
ges of the foresayde souldiours, scarce
able to beare & susteine their owne mem-
bers and harneys, shewing that Capua
was as hurtfull and displeasaunte unto
Anniball and his men, as Cannas was
to the Romaynes, for there (sayd he) they
haue left all their strength, vertue, and
good feates of warre, yea, and haue left
there not onely all theyr glorie and
fame of the time past, but also
hope of victorie in tyme
to come.

The exhortation of Anniball to his souldiours,
the battaile betwene him and Marcellus,
and the victories of the Scipions in
Spain. Capi. xxvii.

And when Marcellus wyth such
woordes to his enemies re-
proche had encouraged his sould-
iours, Anniball likewise with
no lesse rebuke and blame to the Romay-
nes called on his men, sayenge that he
knewe

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 110

knewe theym to haue the same armour
and standerdes whych they had at Tre-
bia, Trasimenus and at Cannas: what
meaneth it now (sayth he) that ye scarce-
ly are able to withstande one legate Ro-
mayne, and the battaile of one Legion
or wyng: where twoo Consulles hostes
were neuer able to withstande you?
Shall Marcellus with his newe and vi-
taught souldiours, and the succoures of
Pola, yet agayne prouoke vs, and we
not reuenged vpon them? Where are
my souldiours that drewe Flammini-
us frome his horse, and strake of his
heade? Where is he that slew Lu-
cius Paulus at Cannas? Are your swo-
des blunt? Are your ryght handes a-
kyned and weary? What a monst-
rous thynge is this: that you, the whiche
were wonte, when that ye were but a
very fewe in numbre, in shorte space to
ouercome a great meyny, now ye be-
yng manye, suffer a fewe to stycke
in youre handes: you boasted as bolde
menne wyth youre iunges, that you
would winne Rome, if any man would
kynge you thither. Beholde now your
business

The warres betwene the
busines here is muche lesse. I would ye
would proue your strength & hardinesse
here by winninge of Pola, a citee of the
countrey set in the playne felde, beyng
compassed wyth neyther floude nor sea,
and then I shall eyther leade or folowe
you, being laden with so ryche a pray, to
what place so euer you will.
Notwithstandinge, neither these repro-
ches, nor his entisinges coulde preuaile
to strength theyr heartes, they were bea-
ten backe on all sydes. The heartes of
the Romaynes dyd encrease, not onely
by theyr capitaynes exhortinges, but al-
so the Polanes steering and kendinge
theyr courage to battaile. At length the
Carthaginenses fledde, and were dy-
uen backe to theyr tentes. And Marcellus
broughte his souldiours to Pola,
wyth great ioye and thanks of the peo-
ple, whose hartes before were most incli-
ned to the Carthaginenses. There were
slaine that day aboue a. M. of theyr enne-
mies, and one thousand. vi. C. taken, of
standerdes and baners xx. and. iiii. Ele-
phantes slaine in the battaile: There
were not a. M. Romaines slaine. The
nexte daye truce was taken, whyche
they

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 111
they spent in buryng the deade bodies.
Marcellus made oblacio to Vulcan with
the spoyle of his ennemies, within thre
dayes after, eyther for dyspleasure, or
hope of moze wages. M. ii. C. lxxii. of
Numidian horsemen and Spanyarde
fled from Anniball to Marcellus, whose
faithfull stronge helpe and ayde the Ro-
maines vled in that batayle ostentymes
after. Than Annibal set Hanno agayne
to the Brusians, with the host whych he
broughte before wyth hym from thens:
and wente hym selfe for the wynter to
Apulia, and lay about Arpos.

So sone as Quintus Fabius hearde,
that Anniball was gone to Apulia, and
that he had broughte corne as muche as
he thoughte necessarye to serue them for
the wynter, from Pola and Naples to
the campe at Sueffula, leauynge a suffi-
cient garriso there, he moued his campe
nigh vnto Capua, burning and spoiling
theyr fieldes: so that they of Capua were
constrained (trusting littel to theyr owne
strength) to come out of the citee, and en-
campe them selues before the walles,
fortifyng them with munimentes with-
out the gates. They had. vi. M. souldy-
ours

The warres betwene the
Rurs armed, they coulde better skille on
horsebacke than on foote. Wherefore the
horsesmen euer prouoked theyr enemyes
by saymyng. Soone after Quintus
Fabius the consull remoued bys tentes
backe from the Campanes, that they
myght tyl and sow theyr ground, nother
dye he come thither agayne to dystroye
any of the fieldes of the Campanes, be-
fore the newe come was come vp of a
good height, & able to be fother for theyr
cattell. Than he came thither agayne,
and caused it to be gathered & brought to
Claudius tentes aboue Succula, where
he provided for the wynter, commaun-
dyng Marcus Claudius, that he leauing
a necessarye garrison at Nola for the de-
fence therof, shuld send the residue of the
souldours to Rome, lest that they shuld
be bothe a charge to theyr frendes, and a
cost to the common wealth.

In the ende of sommer, whan al these
thynges were done, came letters from
the Scipions, what greate & prosperous
actes they had done in Spayne: but all
theyr money grayne and clothynge for
theyr souldours, & sea men was spent.
Wherbye beyng pondered in the Se-
nate,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 112
nate, all thynges necessarye were ordy-
ned and sent to them. And whā these tri-
pendes and necessaryes were come into
Spayne, the towne of Illiturgus was
besyged of Hasdrubal Mago & Amilcar,
the sonne of Bomilcar, for anger that
they had changed their herres, & yelded
them to the romains. Neuerthelesse tho-
rough all these thre hostes the Scipions
baltantly entred into the towne of theyr
frendes, not withoute greate fight and
slaughter, bringynge wyth theym of
grayne good plentye, whereof they had
great nede there, exhorting the citezens so
baltantly to kepe and defende theyr
town as they perceiued the Romayns to
fight for the. Soone after they issued out
to assaile the great campe, wherof Has-
drubal was capitaine. Thither came to
his succours the other two capytaines of
the Carthaginenses with theyr two ho-
stes, for there they knew well shoulde be
the greates battaile and most busynes.
And than sodainly rennyng out of theyr
tentes, they mette together and fought.
Where were of the Carthaginenses at
that bataile. lx. M. And of y Romains a-
bout. 15. M. neuerthelesse y bataile was
so

The warres betwene the
was so prosperous, that the Romaynes
slew more of theyr enemies, than they
were in number theym selues, and took
thre thousande prisoners, and almoste a
M. horses, with. lxx. standerdes and ba-
ners. They slew also. v. elephantes, and
wonne thre tentes of theyr enemies.
¶ When the Illiturgites were thus de-
liuered from the siege, the Carthaginen-
ses furnyshed theyr hostes agayne with
new men, chosyn oute of the prouynces,
that were mooste despyous of war, where
anye paye or wages was to be gotten.
And than wente to laye siege to a towne
called Incibidi. The Romayns folowed
and fought with them, with like successe
as before. There were slayne aboue. xiii.
M. Carthaginenses: and aboue. iii. M.
taken, with. xlii. standerdes, and. ix. E-
lephantes. Than almoste all the people
of Spayne tourned to the Romayns. In
that sommer the busynes of warre was
much more in Spayne than in Italy.
¶ So soone as Hanno was retourned
from Campania to the Brusians, he
incontinente by the helpe of the Brus-
ians, inuaded the cities of Grece, whyche
were in amitie with the Romayns: and

so muche the rather kept frendship wyth
the Romaynes, for that the Brusians,
whom they both hated and feared, were
of the part of the Carthaginenses. And
fyrst they proued a citee called Rhegium
but whan they perteyned it to be strong,
and wolde not yelde, they leste it, and
went towarde the Locrensis, whych in
short space were brought vnder subiecti-
on. And from thens wythout takynge of
Rhegium they remoued awaye. And
shortlye after the Brusians beyng dys-
pleased, that the Locrensis and Rhegiū
were not destroyed, began warre vpon a
ryche citee of Grece, situate on the sea
syde, called Croto, whych they longe as-
sailed in vaine, but at the laste, by the
helpe of Hanno, they wanne it: and all
the people were suffred to goe to the Lo-
crensis, and to inhabite there. Durynge
the time of wynter the Romaynes and
Anniball were not ydell. Semprouius
the consul laye at Pucersa, and Annibal
wintred at Arpos. Where was betwixte
theym smalle bickerynges and skymy-
nges, as oportunte and tyme was ge-
uen to both partes: but for the most part
the Romaynes preuailed against them,
and

The warres betwene the
and dayly wared more circumspecte and
sure from theyr disceyte.

The oration of Quintus Fabius Max-
imius, touching the election of the Con-
sules in that dangerous season
Cap. xxxiii.

At the yeres end Quintus Fa-
bius, by the commaundmente
of the Senate, fortifyed and
left a strong garrison at Inter-
olus, and from thens came to Rome to
the chosynge of new officers. When the
daye of election was come, in which the
younge men bare greate rule, Titus Do-
mesticius, and Marcus Aemilius Regulus
were chosen consuls. Then Quintus
Fabius, causynge every man to kepe si-
lence, spake after this maner.

If ye had peace in Italy, or els warre
against one, in whom might be found at
any tyme negligēce or error: thā I wolde
suppose him littel to remember your ly-
bertie, that wold withstand or let you to
preferre vnto honoꝝ whome you wolde.
But now, seing y in this warre, & with
this enemy, none of our capitaines inter-
medle

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 114
medle negligēty, wout our great slaugh-
ter: ye ought with the same care and cir-
umspection chuse your capitaines, with
which ye wold desire to descend into bat-
taille. And I wold y every man shuld say
to hym selfe. I do chuse a consull and ca-
pitaine like vnto Annibal. This last yere
at Capua, Claudius Asellus, a noble ro-
mayne horseman, was set to incounter
and do battaille with Pubellius Laures,
a noble knyghte of Capua: & in olde time
our forefathers sent Manlius hardy and
crusty, both in herte & strength, againste
a french man, that prouoked him to bat-
taille, at the bridge of Anienus, not long
after for the same cause, Marcus Vale-
rius was greatly esteemed, which fought
with a french man, like wyse prouokynge
him to battaille. And euē so as we desire
to haue souldiours more strong than our
enemies, or at the leste, suche as maye
be equall vnto theym in prowesse, euen
so let vs seke and chuse gouernours, like
vnto the Capytaine of oure enemies.
But whanne we haue chosen one to
be chiefe Capytaine in the citee, than he
beinge sodeinly created but for one yere,
shall bee sente for the agaynste the olde
and

The warres betwene the
and continuall capitayne of oure enni-
mies. They chaunge not theyr gouer-
nour: but at the yeares ende we chaunge
our olde for a newe: so that by the tyme
that all thyngs be in order, and that our
new man hath gotten good experyence,
the yere is past, and a newe muste be put
in his rourne. How can thinges prosper,
that thus be gouerned? Nowe, because I
haue sufficiently spoken, what maner of
men ye ought to chuse consules: I will
speake a lyttel of those, to whome the ser-
uour of this election hath inclyned.

¶ Marcus Aemilius is one of the sacred
pnyestes, whome we cannot sende from
the sacrifice, but we shall wante the ser-
uice due and accustomed to the goddes.
And you Octacilius haue maryed my sis-
ters doughter, and haue chyldren by hir.
Nevertheless your merytes and deserts
towards me and my frendes are not
suche, but that I haue more respecte to
the common welth than to my pryuate
busynes. Every maryner can in cauleme
wether rule the shyppe, but whan the
sharpe stormes aryse, the sea being trou-
bled, & the shyppe tossed with the wynde.
Then is there nede of a man, and a gou-
uernour.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 12
uernour. We sayle not now quietly, but
are with troublous stormes almost drow-
ned. Therefore we must prouide wyth
greate diligence, who shall gouerne the
sterne or helme: yea we must therof take
hede before. We haue proued thy dili-
gence L. Octacilius in lesser busynesse,
wherein trulye thou diddest not deserue
that we should committe to the any grea-
ter charge: For thre causes we sent forth
a nauy the last yere, of which thou were
gouernour. Firste that the border of Af-
rica should haue bene wasted & destroyed
Seconde, that the hauens or strondes of
Italy should haue bene kepte safe for vs:
And before al thinges that no succour, sti-
pend, or other necessities, being sent fro
Carthage to Anniball, should haue free
passage. I am contente that ye make L.
Octacilius consull, if he can proue, that
he did performe to the comon welth any
of these thynges to him committed. But
if thou being capitayne of the nauye, all
that was sente from Carthage to Anni-
ball had as free passage, as though the
sea had bene open: And if the borders of
Italye this yere were more indaungered
than the borders of Africa: what canst
thou

The warres betwene the
thou alledge for thy selfe, that thou shouldest be chosen chiefe capitaine agaynst Annibal: it appertayneth to no mā more than to the Titus Octiacilius, to take heede, that such a burthen be not laid on thy necke, the weight whereof will peise the down. I do admonishe and perswade you all, that in chosinge youre consuls at this time, ye vse the same circumspection that ye woulde vse, if ye were driuen to chose twayne to gouerne your battaile, when ye being in harneys on the plaine agaynst youre ennemies were ready to fight with them. Trasimeneus and the example of Cannas, are very sorowefull to be remembred: but they are ryght profitable, and a good document, to beware of such an other.

After this oration, the prerogative of the yong men was called in agayne: And, the went they to a newe electiō: in the which Quintus Fabius him selfe was created the fourth time consul: and Marcus Marcellus the thirde time. These were created wythoute anye varyaunce: Neyther dyd anye man suspecte Quintus Fabius of couetousnes of rule and gouernaunce: but rather they praysed the noblenes and

Surge

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 16
courage of his heart. For that when he sawe, that the common wealth did want a good capitaine, and knewe him selfe without doubt to be one: esteemed the enuie, that he should haue (if anye should arise of that matter) lesse then the prosyte of the common welth.

When al thinges were ordeyned with great care and diligence for the warres in all partes, the Campaynes maruayling of the great and exquisite ordinance of the Romaynes, which was much greater than it was wont to be, and fearyng greatly, least they woulde that ycare begin warre vpon them: they sent legates to Anniball incontinent, desyringe hym to moue his armie to Capua, shewing him, that the Romaynes hoste was chosen and prescribed to besiege Capua, for that the defection of them was more displeasautly taken of the Romaynes, than of any citee in Italye. And because the matter was so fearefully pronounced vnto him, he made the greater speede to come thither before y Romayns. When he had bene there a season, he left certain of the Numidians & spaniards to defend the citee, and wente him selfe to the

Roll.

lake

The warres betwene the
lake of Auernus, vnder y colour to make
sacrifice. Notwithstandinge his pretence
was to set on Puteolus, and theym that
were left there in garrison.

When Fabius Maximus heard, that
Annibal was gone from Arpos, and turn-
ed agayne to Campania, wythoute res-
ting night or day, he went to the hosse,
and caused T. Gracchus to remoue from
Luceria to Beneuentum, & made Quin-
tus Fabius his sonne to abide in his
place at Luceria: and him selfe came to
Castilinum, intending to besiege it, and
the Carthaginenses that were therein.
The same time (as it were a thinge ap-
pointed) Hanno came from the Brutu-
ans with a great hoste of horsemen and
footemen, to Beneuentum: but it chaun-
ced so, y Titus Gracchus came from Lu-
ceria thither, somewhat before him & en-
tered the towne. And when he heard that
Hanno had pitched his tentes. iii. miles
from the towne, at a water called Ca-
lor and wasted the countrey, he went him-
selfe out of the towne and pitched his
tentes a mile from his enemy, & there he
had an assemble of souldiours, wherof
the most part were of bondmen, that had
bene

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 117

bene in the warre the yere before. These
bondmen thought by their desertes to be
made free, before they would desire it o-
penly: notwithstandinge he perceyued a
murmour of some of them, complayning
and sayeng: Shal we neuer be free, and
do battayle like free souldiours and cite-
zens. Wherof he wrote letters to the se-
nate, as well of their desire, as of theyr
deseruing, sayeng, that he had euer vnto
that daye had their good faythefull and
strong helpe, & that they wanted nothing
that beloged to good and iuste souldiours
sauing liberty. Concerning that matter
it was permitted vnto him, to do that
which he should thinke mete for the pro-
fite of the common welth. Whereupon,
before he would do battayle with his ad-
uersary, he shewed his men, that y time
in which they might obtayne their liber-
tee, that they so longe desired and hoped
after, for the next day they shoulde fyght
in a fayre and plaine fielde, where the
battail should be done without any feare
of decepte, with cleane strength and har-
dines, and he that then would shewe the
heade of one of his enemies, shoulde
in battaille, shoulde freyght way be made

D.iii.

fre

The warres betwene the
free: and he that fledde shoulde be puny-
shed with vile seruitude for ever.
Wherefore now (sayd he) euerye mans
fortune lyeth in his owne handes. For
the confirmation of which his wordes,
he sayde, that he alone was not the au-
toure of theyr libertee: but that Marcus
Marcellus the consull, and the fathers
conscript were agreable to the same.
And therof he had sent him theyr letters
whych he shewed and red vnto them.
At these his wordes there arose a greate
noyse among them, desiring battaile in-
continent, if it myght so please him.
Then Gracchus lette the Conuocation
passe, and appointed the battaile against
the nexte daye. The souldiours were
very glad, and in especiall those,
which supposed theyr wages
for one daye to be perpe-
tuall libertye.

The battaile betwene Hanno and Gracchus
with the rewarde, and also the punish-
ment awarded by Gracchus to cer-
taine bondemen of his hoste.
Cap. xxxiii.

The nexte daye when the trum-
pettes blew to battaile, they
came together in good arraye,
and anone vpon the sonne ry-
sing Gracchus broughte his souldiours
into battaile. And theyr enemies made
no tarieng for theyr part. There were of
them. xviii. M. footemen, and one. M. ii.
hundred horsemen, the battaile was ve-
ry sharpe, & lasted. iiii. houres, not know-
ing which shoulde haue the victory. Ther
was nothing troubled y Romayns more
than the beades of theyr enemies which
Gracchus had appoynted to be the price
of their libertee. Wherefore euery as they
had striken downe any of theyr enemies
they would strike of his head, and beare
it in theyr handes in stede of weapon.
Whych thing Gracchus apperceyuinge
commaunded that euerye man shoulde
leau the head that he had in his hande,
and take his weapon and fyghte. Then
the battaile beganne more fierce than be-
fore, the captaynes on bothe partes ex-
horting theyr men to fyght. Gracchus
shewed his people, that if theyr enne-
mies were not that day put to bitterance
they shoulde neuer look for theyr lyber-
tee

The warres betwene the
see. When the souldiours heard him say
so, they heartes were so kindeled, that
they ranne freshe vpon they enemies,
wyth so greate violence, that they were
not able to susteyne they myght and cou
rage, but incontinente fledde towarde
they campe. The Romaynes folowing
and pursuing the, made a greater slaugh
ter in the flight, than they did, befoze in
the battayle. There escaped not of the
hole hoste, aboue two thousande whyche
fledde wyth they capitayne awayne, the
moste parte were horsemen, all the resi
due were eyther slayne or taken. There
were not slaine of the Romains passing
two thousand. When they were retour
ned into they tentes, loden with they
great pray iiii. thousande of the bonde
men, whych had done euil they deuoure
that daye in battaile, had gotten a lytell
hill not farre from the tentes, who were
fetched agayne the daye folowing by the
Tribanes, and came to the conuocation
or court holden by Gracchus to the soul
diours: wherin he rewarded the olde soul
diours as he thoughte euery one had de
serued. Then as concerning the bondme
he sayd, that he had rather that both wor
thy

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 119
thy and vnworthye shoulde that tyme be
prayed of hym than punysshed: neuer
thelesse, because it had chaunced well to
the commune welth and to them, he com
maunded that all shuld be free, at which
commaundement all at ones thankyng
hym, desyzed all welth to the Romaines
and to hym. When sayd Gracchus: Po
haue I fully performed my promise of li
berty to you al vniuersally: neuerthelesse
to thentente it maye be knowen, that I
wyl put difference betwene well doyng
and euyl doyng, betwene vertuous cou
rage, and cowardenesse, I wyl that ye
byng me the names of all those, which
departed from the fyeelde the daye befoze.
That done, he caused theym all to be
sworne, that none of them shoulde other
eate or drynke other wyse than standinge
(onelesse they were diseased) so longe as
they serued in the warres. This punish
ment (sayde he) ye shal patiently take, yf
ye consider with your selues, that I could
not haue noted you with a lesse marke for
your cowardyse than that is. When com
maunded he them to trusse vp their stuffe,
which done, the souldiours wyth greate
praysse came to Beneuentum, not lyke
men

men that came from battaille, but as merry as though they had come from a banquet. The citezens receiued them meruailous thankefully, and desired Gracchus that he wolde suffer the souldiours to feast with them, which he graunted.

¶ Whyles these thynges were done at Beneuentum, Annibal waisting the fieldes of the Neapolitanes, moued his tentes to Pola. Whiche whan the consull Marcellus perceiued, he sent for pompeius the pretor to mete hym, with the hostes that laye at Sueflula, intendinge that they bothe together wolde meete hym, and he sent Claudius Pero with a stronge company of horsemen oute of the towne by nyghte, to compasse Anniball on the other side by comaunding him, that whan he saw the battaille was begunne, he shoulde set vppon his enemies at theyr backes. Whiche his dysse Pero coude not byngge to passe, eyther because he knew not the cumbersome wayes of the countrey, or els for that the shortenes of the time woulde not suffer hym. Marcellus in the morninge met with his enemies, and gaue them bataille: in the which he had the victoꝝe, and caused his enemies

ennemyes to flee, neuerthelesse he durste not folow them, because he wanted his horsemen. Wherefore he caused his men to recule. There were .ii. thousande of theyr enemyes slayne, and not .iiii. hundred of the romains. Pero and the horsemen, labouring in vaine the nyghte and the day, without seing his enemies came home about the sonne sette. For whyche his vaine iourney, he was sore rebuked of the consull sayng, that he was the cause as than, that theyr enemyes had not receiued as great losse as they gaue at Cannas. The next day the Romains disceded into the fieldes, but Annibal kept him in his tentes, knowlegynge hym selfe to be ouercome, and the thyrde daye, withoute hope of optaining Pola, trusting to haue better speede, remoued to Tarentum.

¶ Quintus Fabius, the other Consull, had his tentes at Cassilinum which was kept with .ii. M. of the Campanes, and vii. C. of Anniballes souldiours. He caused Marcellus to come to hym wyth his hoste. And yf that the Polans thoughte them selves not safe from Anniball, that they shoulde send to Beneuetu to Gracchus, to come to theyr succours. Which thing
done

The warres betwene the
 Done, Cassilinum was quickely won,
 and the souldiours that were there, aswel
 of Annibals as of Capua, were taken,
 and sente to Rome, and there put in pri-
 son. There were take by Fabius at that
 time many cities in Italye, and in them
 to the number of. cxxv. of Anniballes
 souldiours and frends taken and slaine,
 besyde. iiii. C. lxx. vacabundes and runa-
 waies, whyche were taken and sente to
 Rome, and there whynned with rodde,
 and after put to death.

The cities of Sagunt in Spayne, and Ar-
 pos in Italy are wonne by the Romaynes,
 king Siphax is become frend to the Ro-
 mains, and is overcome in battaile by
 Massanissa. Cap. xxxv.

Here were the same yeaere in
 Spayne manye battayles be-
 twene Mago and Hasdruball
 the capytaines of carthage and
 the Scipions, so: befoze the Romaine ca-
 pitaynes could passe the riner of Iberus,
 Mago and Hasdrubal had slayne a great
 number of Spanyardes, frendes to the
 Romaynes, and had obteyned the vtter
 parte

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 parte of Spayne, had not the Scipions
 come in tyme: whose comynge stayed the
 wauering mindes of many of that coun-
 trey. And there was betwixte the two
 capitaynes greate and manye batayles
 foughten, in the whyche the Romaynes
 had alwayes the vpperhande: and in sun-
 dry battailes slewe greate armyes of the
 Carthaginenses and theyr frendes, wan
 diuers townes and castels, brought their
 ennemy to so low an ebbe, that of a long
 season they were glad to rest, doinge no
 acte worthy memory. Whā the Romaine
 capitaines, remembryng that the citee
 of sagunt had ben so long oppressed with
 the yoke of dominyon of the Carthagy-
 nenses, they remoued theyr hoste thither
 and wanne the citee againe, whych they
 restored to the olde inhabitantes thereof,
 that were lefte on lyue. Than they in-
 uade the Turditans, who were the firste
 causers of the warre with the Carthagi-
 nenses, whom they wan shortly, and de-
 stroyed their cities. These dedes were
 done in Spaine Quintus Fabius Mari-
 mus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus
 beyng consuls. Than the officers for the
 yere to come, were chosē at rome: where
 Quintus

Quintus Fabius the yonger, Sonne to the olde Consull, was chosen one of the Consuls: and Titus Sempronius Gracchus the other: Then all the other officers in order. When to euery captain was assigned his hoste and warde the warres agaynst Anniball were committed to the Consules: Sempronius went to the Lucanes, & Fabius to Apulia. The father wente as legate to the sonne, to shewe him of the minde of the Senate. This yong Fabius laye then at the campe aboue Sueffula: who hearyng that his father was come to him as ambassadour from the senate, came forth to mete him in his roial estate, with his. xii. sergeantes befoze him, but. xi. of his sergeantes beholdinge the maiestye of olde Fabius as he came riding, passed by and nothing sayd to him. Than the sonne being consull, commaunded the. xii. sergeants to take hede to his office. He also with a lowde voyce commaunded his father to descend fro his horse. Than incontinent his father alighted, and sayde. I did this sonne, onely to proue whether thou diddest knowe, that thou art consull or not, & so proceeded forth with him, declaringe

as was geuen him in charge.

Sone after came to the same consull into the campe one Classius Altinius wyth his thre sergeantes, from the towne of Arpos, promising for a good rewarde to deliuer him Arpos. This matter was debated amonge the counsell, and by the more parte agreed, that this Altinius should be scourged and slayne, as an inconstant traytour and common enemye, considering that firste he, after the battayle of Cannas, was causer of the yeldinge of the towne to Anniball chaunging his fidelitie as fortune chaunged, And nowe agayne, seinge the power of the Romaynes to begin to rise in prosperitee, he would begin a newe treason. Wherefoze they thought it not to be suffered, but that he shoulde be ordred as an vntrewe felowe and a bayne enemye.

Agaynst whiche theyr determination spake olde Quint. Fabius, sayenge, that they oughte to consider the perillous tyme of warre, and so to proceede, that they lose none of theyr saythfull friendes by any occasion or example that they dyd shewe: but by all meanes possible, if any of theyr fryendes were fallen frome them

The warres betwene the
them, to finde meanes to purchase them
again. And whan any of them knowled
geth their offences, & desireth to returne
to their olde amities: with greate gentili
nes to receiue them. For in case ye will
admitte it to be more heynous for oure
friendes to retourne againe to vs, than
it is for them to goe from vs, there is no
doubt, but shortly we shall see the molle
parte of oure friendes in Italy leaue oure
friendshippe, and alpe them selues wth
Annibal. Neuerthelesse (sayeth he) I will
not aduise you to geue muche faith to Al
tinius, but keeping a good meane, not her
repute him as an ennemie, nor trust him
as a friend, but that he be sente to some of
youre cities nere adioynynge, there to be
safely kepte, till the warres be ended: at
whiche time we may at length consulte
whether the sayd his departing from vs
hathe deserued more punishmente, than
his retourne hath deserued pardon. This
his aduise toke place. He was sente with
his company to Cales. And the Consull
determined, to besiege Arpos. Wherefore
folowynge his purpose, he pyched his
campe within a mile of the towne where
he mighte viewe the towne, & there per
ceiued

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ceiued on the one part therof, which was
least vsed, a lowe gate and a narrowe.
To this gate he appointed certaine good
capitaines, and. vi. c. active souldiours,
to beare scaling ladders about thye of the
clocke in the morning befoze daye, com
maundynge them fyrste to assaye to scale
that tower: whiche done, then on the in
ner parte to breake downe the walles of
the gate, and beinge maysters of parte of
the towne, by the sowne of a horne, to
geue him knowledge, whereby he wth
the reste of his hoste myghte appoche to
their succour. This his deuise with speede
was executed. And the chaunce was such
that one thinge, whiche was thoughte
would be a great let of their purpose best
holpe them, and disceyued their enemies
whych was, that about the middes of the
nyghte, there fell so great aboundaunce
of raine, with so vehement a storme, that
the watchemen were of force dryuen, lea
uing theyr appoynted places on the wal
les, to descend and enter into their hou
ses, where abiding a good season, they fel
on slepe. In this whyle had the Romayns
scaled the walles, and were busye to
breake by the gates. Whose noyse was
K. I. not

The warres betwene the
not heard of the watchmen: and
rude was the storme, and such noise
made the huge rayne. Then blew the
hornes: at whose sound the consuls came
nere, and about the breake of the day en-
tered the citee by the broken gate. Then
was theyr entre dyscried. There was of
Anniballes men in the towne. v. M. foot
dyours, the towne also had armed. iii.
thousand men, whyche townes men the
Carthaginēses caused to goe in the front
of the battaile, mistrustynge to haue them
behynde at theyr backes. After a lyttell
skymynge in the stretes, dyuers of the
townes men of Arpos, and certayne of
the Romaynes, whyche were before of
acquaintaunce, beganne to common and
talke together. First spake the Romaynes,
and sayde: O ye men of Arpos, what
do ye meane, to take part with these bar-
barous naciō against your owne cuntry
men: wherin haue the Romans offended
you: or what haue the Carthagynēses
deserued vnto you, that ye shuld thus tri-
uaile to make Italy subiect & tributary to
Africa: the Arpians excused thē selves,
sayng, that they were betrayed, and sold
by their captains to the Carthaginēses
and

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and almost bitterly destroyed. Their com-
munication stayed the fighting. And af-
ter a certayne space, the pzetor or gouer-
nour of the towne was brought by his
men to the consull: Where they so well
agreed, that incontynēt the Arpians toke
the part of the Romans against the Car-
thaginēses. There were also in y towne
about a thousand spaniards, who all in-
stake wyse toured to the Romaynes: but
first they opteyned of the consull, that the
garrison of the Carthaginēses myght
steely depart the towne, to go at theyr li-
berte: Whiche was trulye perfour-
med. They departed to Salapia, where
Hanniball was, and the towne inconty-
nent was deliuered to the Romaynes,
without losse of any of theyr army.
The Scipions in this space had brought
theyr busynesse prosperously to passe in
Spain, bothe in conseruing theyr olde
tendes, and gettynge of newe: besides
his sodaynelye they had comforte to do
good in Affrica, by the reason of one Sy-
phar, a kinge of Numidia, who as than
was become an enemye to the Cartha-
ginēses. To this king were sent. iii. le-
gates that shuld bring him in amitee w
R. ii. the

The warres betwene the
the Romans and also cause him to make
warre vpon the Carthaginenses. His
message was also very acceptable to Sy-
phar. Whereupon he reasoned with the
legates, that were expert men of warre,
and perceyued manye thinges wherein
he and his men before were ignorant.
Wherefore when they would haue depar-
ted, he intreated them, that two of them
would retourne home to theyr capitaynes
to desire a sure aliaunce betweene him
and the Romayns, and to ascertyne the
of his full minde: and that the thyrd of
them might remaine still with him, to be
gouernour of his armye, sayeng that his
men were good horsemen, but they were
nothing skillfull to fighte on foote. To
this his request they agreed, & departed,
taking the kinges othe and promise, that
in case theyr capitaynes would not agree
thereto: that incontinente theyr selues
which was left behinde, should be sent
home to them agayne. The name of him
that remainned with king Syphar, was
Statonius, who anon chose out a great
numbre of yonge and active men, whom
he taught to folowe theyr baners, and to
kepe theyr aray after the Romayne fa-
shion.

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tion: So that in shorte space, Syphar
thought him selfe able, both on horseback
and on foote, to geue battayle to the Car-
thaginenses. Thus was there a safe
bande of peace and amitie betwene the
Romaynes and Syphar.
When the Carthaginenses were ware
thercof, they sente incontinente messan-
gers to one Gala, king of the other parte
of Numidia, This Gala had a sonne of
xvii. yeares of age, a noble & wise yonge
man, called Massanissa. The ambassa-
dours shewed the kynge, that better it
were for him, with their helpe to over-
come Syphar betime: than by his meanes
the Romaynes should haue any entre in-
to Affrica.

With suche wordes, they perswaded
Gala to the warre: and muche the sooner
for that Massanissa his sonne desyred to
be gouernour of that armye. Whereupon
the armye of the Carthaginenses was
loyned to Massanissa his armye. And at
the first battaile Syphar was overcome
and xxx. M. of his men slayne: so that
with a fewe horsemen he fledde to the
Mauritaines, that inhabited nigh the
Gades or pylars of Hercules, where he
gathered

The warres betwene the gathered a newe army of men, thinking to saile ouer into Spaine: but ere euer he he could take the water Massaniſſa with his armie came on him, and withoute the helpe of the Carthaginenses, fought a noble battayle with him, & ouercame him.

Anniball through the treason of Mico and Philomenes, winneth the ctye of Tarent. Cap. xxxvi.

Anibal this seasō euer hauing hope, that the citie of Tarent should by one meane or other be wonne, as is before sayde, made his abode not farre from that citie. And to bringe his opiniō to his purpose, there happed a fortunate chaunce by the meanes of one Phileas a Tarentine, who longe time had taried at Rome, as a messenger of the Tarentines. There were then at Rome diuers pledges of the noble bloude of Tarente, kepte in gentill keepinge. To these pledges this Phileas founde the meane to haue often recourse, and at length he so corrupted the keepers that they suffered them to depart out of the city in the beginning of

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the night: and Phileas went with the to guide the by secreete wayes. In the morning early the same of y pledges departing was spred abroad through the citie, & a great numbꝛe pursued the with spede so that before they had farre trauayled, they ouertoke the: & brought the al backe agayne into the citie: where for they of fences, iudgement was geuen that they should be first scourged with rodde naked, and the brought to a high rocke: from the toppe wherof they should be throwe downe to the ground.

This cruell ende of those nobles offended much the mindes of diuers citie in Italye and Greece, speciallye those that were of kinne or by amitie ayded to anye of them that were slaine: among which sort. xiii. of the nobles of Tarente conspired against the Romans, of whō the capitaynes and chiefe were Mico & Philomenes. They were great hunters, & vsed muche to go oute of the citie in the nighte to go on huntinge. Wherefore by the coloure of goinge on huntinge they went toward the army of Anniball, intending to speake with him, & to declare vnto him their intentes. Whē they came nere

The warres betwene the
here the campe, they too leauynge their
company in a woodde here adioynnge,
wente to the campe: & anone were taken
of the watchemen, and brought to Anniball, as they request was, to whom they
declared they purpose and good wyll.
And he gaue theym great thanks, and
sente them home agayne loden wyth
fayre promysse. And to couer the bet-
ter they deuyse, he wyllid them to dyne
wyth them certayne cattayle of the Car-
thaginenses, saieyng, they hadde gotten
that praye of they ennemyes: whyche
they were suffered to doe wythoute re-
sistence: and broughte them home to Tar-
rent with ioye. This vsed they to doe of-
tentymes, so that it was thoughte mer-
uayle, that they so often enterprysed such
feates, and euer escaped vnslayne.

Thus often they vsed and euer whan
they killed any benyson, or brought anye
pray from the Carthaginenses (whyche
they were suffered to doe at all tymes at
they pleasures) they eyther gaue it to
the capytaine of the citee, a Romaine, or
elles to the porter of the gates: so that
they hadde broughte the Porter in such
a custome, that whan so euer Philome-
nes

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nes dyd but whysell, at all tymes of the
nyghte, the gates were opened vnto
hym.

Whan they had broughte all thynges
in this good case for they purpose they
wente to Annibal, and agreed with him
on this couenaunt, that the Tarentines
shuld lyue ener vnder they owne lawes
and customes. Also that they shoulde
paye hym no Trybute, nor haue any ar-
mye appoynted by Hannibal to kepe the
citee, but at they owne pleasure. And
that they shulde enioye all they goodes.
Only that the souldiours of the Romai-
nes, whyche were in the citee, and, they
gooddes, shuld be at the pleasure and wil
of Hannibal. Whan laye Hannibal. iiii.
daies iourney from Tarent, & because he
wolde not haue his longe abode there, to
be suspecte, he fayned hym selfe to bee
sycke, and caused it to be bzuted abode,
that his sicknes was the cause of his lōg
lynge in that one place. But agaynst
the time he wolde haue the towne, he
chose out. x. thousand horsmen, and of
the lightest footemen of hys armye: and
remoued from hys campe in the nyghte,
making speede til he came win. xv. mile of
Tarent

Tarent, where he secretly abode, charging his men, in no wise to breake theyr aray or order: but that they shoulde be ready to doe what theyr capitaynes dyd commaund them, and none other. But first, er he set forth, to couer the better hys removing, and to thintent that none of the countrey shoulde descrie hys armye: he sent. iiii. scoze Spaniards horsemen, to go before hym, charginge them to ouerrenne the countrey, by whyche he wyth his armye shoulde passe. And if they ouertoke any men, to bryng them backe. And if they met with any they shoulde slea them to the intente it shoulde be thought by the inhabitantes as they wente, that they were robbers and theues, and not men of warre. The fame of theyr robbinge came to the eares of the Romayne capitaine at Tarent: who toke but small regard thereto, thinkyng sith Anniball hym selfe was speake, and hys armye so farre of, that he wolde the next day sende forth certaine of hys men of armes, to bryue alwaye those robbers, and to saue the corne and cattel of his frendes. The same nyghte, in the deade parte thereof, removed Anniball towarde Tarente, hauing

hauyng Philomenes with hym, as hys guide. When they came nigh to y towne, it was appoynted, that Philomenes shoulde enter the towne, with a number of men in harnays, at the gate, where he was wont to enter, bryngyng his praye from huntynge. When he came thither, he awaked the porter, sayng, that he had brought a great boze that he had slayne. At the fyrste call the porter opened the gates: and fyrste let in two yonge men of his company: than entred he, & other hys seruantes, pluckynge in the greafe boze. At whose greatnes whyle the keper was daryng and musyng, Philomenes suddenly slewe hym with his boze speare or hunting staffe: and incontinent let in. xxx. other men in harnais, who slewe the other watchemen of the sayd gate: & without noise let in the rest of the armye, and secretly broughte them into the market place, where they abode a space without making any noise. Whyles this was done at one gate, Annibal, with a great number wyth hym, came priuily toward another gate, and a farre of he made a great fyre, whyche was a signe or token made betwene hym and Pico, who abode with other

other his complices, redy wth in the towne
 loking for his commynge. Whiche syde
 whan Pico perceiued, he (as it were an-
 sweringe to the same) made him another
 syde. And whan eyther perceiued other,
 incontinent both their fiers were sodain-
 ly put out. And Anniball beganne to ap-
 proche with his army to the gates. Pico
 also within the citee, came to the porters
 ward, which he found open, and finding
 the warche on slepe, slew all the keepers
 therof, and opening the gates, let Anniball
 and his company of footemen enter:
 for the ho^uemen were commaunded to
 abyde in the playnes without, to do there
 as neede requyred. Thus they entred the
 towne, and makynge no noyse, came in
 to the market place, where they mette
 with Philomenes, & his other company.
 Whā had he in his company. ii. M. french
 men, whiche he deuided in thre partes,
 and sente them to diuers partes of the
 citee. The Affricanes & the Tarentines
 he caused to kepe the mooste accustomed
 stretes of the towne: commaundynge
 them, to slea, al the romaines, but in any
 wyse to spare the Tarentine citizens.
 And to that purpose he appoynted the
 sayd

sayd yonge gentylmen of Tarent, that
 were his helpers and frends, to be in the
 company of the other his souldiours. So
 that whan they sawe anye citezens, they
 should comfort them, bydyng them, not
 to be affraide, for they shuld haue no hurt.
 Than began a great ruinoure and noyse
 to be rayled in the towne, as is euer,
 where so sodeyne chaunce happeth. The
 capitayne at the syde noyse, doubtyng
 treason, fled to the haue, & from thence,
 in a smal bote, passed ouer into the castel.

Whan the day appeared, and that the
 harneis and armes of the Carthaginenses
 were perceiued, & also of the frenche-
 men, wyth the death of so many Romai-
 nes: than was it manifest, that Annibal
 had wonne the towne. Where vpon the
 Romaines that myghte escape, fled into
 the sayd castel. Than caused Annibal the
 citezens to assemble together wythoute
 armure, to here his pleasure, which they
 all obeyed. There dyd he declare vnto
 them, the loue and greate affection that
 he hadde euer borne vnto them, and the
 gentylnes that he had shewed vnto them
 at the battayle of Trasymenus, and the
 battaile of Cannas, whan he sente vnto
 them

The warres betwene the
them such of theyr frendes, as he had ta-
ken captiues, without any hurt, imped-
ment, or ransoms. And after he expressed
with greates inuectiues, the cruell and
proude dominion, that the Romans euer
hadde ouer them. From the whiche he
was come to deliuer them: willinge eue-
ry one of theym of the citee, to retourne
home to his house: & wyth spede to wyte
his name on the doore of his owne house,
for incontinente he wolde sende his soule
dyours to spoyle and destroy such houses,
as hadde not the names entituled on the
doores: Chargeynge theym on payne
of death, that none of theim should write
hys name vpon the doore of anye Ro-
man: for that was the marke, whereby
his men might knowe the houses of hys
frendes, from those of hys ennemyes.

With this exhortacion he lycensed eue-
ry man to departe home, and within a
certaine space, he gaue a signe to his soule
dyours, to spoyle the houses of the Ro-
maines. Which was done & good spoyle
thereof taken. On the morowe he de-
termined to assaulte the castell: but whan
he sawe the stronge naturall citee therof
being halfe compassed wyth the sea, bea-
tinge

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ting on the great high rockes, and on the
other halfe haupnge greates dyches and
high walles towarde the towne: he was
lothe to spende his tyme in the assaulting
therof, and to leaue other greates thynges
not folowed. Neuerthelesse beinge lothe
to leaue hys frendes the Tarentines,
open to al inuasions of the men of armes
of the Castell: (For to the towne they
might at all tymes haue accesse at theyr
pleasure) he thought to make a walle and
diche on the towne syde, betwene theym
and the castell. And he hadde this opini-
on, that whan the dyche were castynge,
the Romaynes would adventure to
make excursions on the labourers to lette
his worke and purpose. And he intended,
that yf they so fyersele wolde doe, so to
dispose his men pryncipally in imbushments:
that suche slaughter of them shoulde be
made, that they shold not be able after to
hurte the towne. And euen as he
thought, so came it to passe. For so sone
as the worke was begunne, anon the
gate and castell was sette open, and the
Romaynes came on the workemen and
Carthaginenses, wyth suche violence,
that anon they gaue backe, & somewhat
the

The warres betwene the
the more purpofelye, to enhaunce they
heartes and courage, and to allure them
farther from theyr holde. But anone, at
a certayne token gyuen, the imbushment
broke oute, and with fuche force inuaded
the Romaines, that they fled backe with
much fpede towarde the caſtel: but than
was the ſtrete ſo narrowe, by the whyche
they muſte paſſe, and they ſo troubled
wyth the baggage of the labourers, that
lay in their waye, that many more were
ſlayne in the ſleyng, than were befoze in
fgyhtyng. Thus was the power of the
Caſtel left ſo ſmal, that afterwarde theyr
workes were neuer let, but that the depe
diche and walle were made in ſuch wiſe,
that he needed not to leaue any garrifon
in the towne. Neuertheleſſe for theyr ſafe
garde he left a certayne of his ſouldiours
and he with the reſte of his armye remo-
ued fyue myles from thence to the ryuer
of Galesus, where he pitched his tentes.
Sone after he returned to viewe the
ſtrength of the Caſtell, and thoughte it
myght be wonne with aſſaute.
Where vpon he cauſed all maner of en-
gyngs to be made, and ſet vp agaynſt the
walles: to the great feare of them of the
Caſtel.

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Caſtel. But ſodeynely in the nyght came
a certayne of ſhyppes of menne of warre,
from Metapontus, whych than was hol-
den with Romans, and entred the hauen
by whoſe healpe they of the Caſtel threwo
downe, and burned all the inginnes and
munymentes of the Carthaginienſes.
Whereby Anniball loſt his hope of win-
ninge the caſtel by any aſſaulte: but than
he ymagined, by continuall ſiege to fa-
myſhe them. Whiche purpoſe alſo ſer-
ued him nothinge. For they of the caſtell
hadde the ſea free on the one ſyde, where
they receyued vittailles at theyr pleaſure:
And the Romaines, beinge mayſters of
the hauen, kepte all prouyſyon from the
citee, that was wonte to come by water.
So that they were much more like to en-
dure famyne, than the other of the caſtel,
whom they beſieged. Wherefoze Anni-
bal, miſtruſting the ſtrength of the place,
called the rulars of Tarente befoze hym,
and ſayde.
Beholde the nature, the ſite, and all
the ſtrengthe of this caſtell, and I cannot
ſee, that any aſſault can preuaile, ſo long
as our ennemies be lordes of the ſea, and
haue that at liberty. But if we may (ſayd
S. i. be)

The warres betwene the
 he) haue shippes, which may restrayne by
 sayles to be brought to them, eyther they
 will depart thens or yelde vnto vs. To
 this the tarentines agreed wel: but they
 sayd, that he must helpe, that some of the
 nauye of Carthage, whiche were in Si-
 cilia, myght be caused to come thither, to
 kepe the sayd porte. Why (sayd Annibal)
 haue you no shippes of your owne. Yes
 truly (sayd they) but they lye here in a li-
 tell creke, and so longe as our ennemyes
 haue the dominion of the mouth of the
 hauen, how can they euer escape into the
 brode seas. Yes sayde Annibal, feare it
 not, for manye thinges, that naturallye
 be letted, by wytt and pollicye maye be
 brought to passe. For our citee is situate on
 a playne & even ground, & youre stretes &
 waies be brode to passe to al parts. Your
 shippes will I conuay through the hygh
 waye, that leadeth throughe the middell
 of your citee, vpon waynes and wheles,
 vnto the hauen, wyth small charge. And
 the sea shalbe ours, that now our enne-
 mies be lordes of. Then both by sea and
 by land, we will compasse theym, so that
 shortly they shal be driuen to forsake the
 castell, or els we shal take both them and
 it

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 it also.

This his wyse deuylse made all men to
 haue wonder and admyzation of hym,
 wyth also a hope of a good successe of his
 purpose. Forthwith all waynes and car-
 tes were gathered and tyed together.
 Then were engins made, to rayse and to
 drawe by the ships, and the wayes made
 hard, euen, and leuell, that they myghte
 the more easely be drawen on them.
 Thus wyth strength of beastes and men
 the shippes were broughte to the hauen,
 and in fewe dayes garnyshe wyth
 men and all thynges necessarye
 and broughte rounde about
 the castell, casting theyr
 ankers before the
 mouth of the
 hauen.

Publius Flaccus the Romayne consull, with
 neth the campe of Hanno, sleeth and taketh a
 great numbre of men wyth a ryche praye
 Magus sleeth Titus Gracchus, and
 many Romaynes through the
 treason of Flavius a Lu-
 cane. Cap. xxxvi.

S. ii.

Whiles

The warres betwene the
Vyles Annibal was thus occu-
 pied about the businesse of La-
 rent, Quintus Fuluius Flac-
 cus, & Appius Claudius, that
 were chosen consuls for that yeare, were
 come wyth bothe their armyes into the
 parties of the Samnites: and the rulers
 of Capua feared greatly, lest they shoulde in-
 tende shortly to besiege their citee. Also
 plenty of corne began than to faile them.
 For the legions of the Romaynes had so
 inuaded their countrey, that the Campa-
 nes durste neyther tyll nor sowe theyr
 groundes. Wherefore they sente legates
 vnto Annibal, desyringe hym, to cause
 plenty of wheate to be brought to Capua
 from the countrey adioynning: before that
 the consuls did enter theyr countrey with
 theyr armies. Where vpon Annibal sent
 messengers to Hanno, that he shoulde
 come from the Brusians with his armye
 into Campania: And to make prouision,
 that the Campanes myghte haue good
 plenty of corne sent to them.

Hanno (as he was commaunded) lea-
 uinge the Samnites, and the Consuls,
 passed by, till he came within. iii. myles
 of Beneuentum: where on a mountayne he

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 he pitched his campe, and in toynes of
 his frendes adioynng, to whiche greate
 plente of wheate the sommer before had
 bene carped, he made goodlye prouision
 for the Campanes, and sent word secret-
 ly to Capua, what day they shoulde, with
 all the waines and cartes that they could
 assemble in the countrey, resorte to the
 said places, for to sette a waye their sayde
 wheate. The Campanes, lightlye and
 skenderlye foreseeinge their busynes and
 welth, at the day assigned, came thither,
 bringynge wyth them but. iiii. hundred
 cartes: which theyr slouth Hanno greatly
 rebuked, meruayling, that they wold no
 more heedily auoyde hunger, whiche all
 brute beastes laboure to eschue. Where-
 fore he sente them home laden, and ap-
 poynted them annoother daye, to retourne
 againe for a muche greater quantitee.

This appoyntmente came to the eares
 of the Beneuentanes. Wherevpon incont-
 nent they sent tenne messengers to the
 Consules, certifyinge them of all the
 Campanes purpose. And they forthwith
 agreed, that Fuluius, with his armye
 shoulde go to Beneuentum, and enter the
 towne, in the nighte, keepynge him close
 therein,

The warres betwene the
therein, tyll he sawe tyme apte for his
purpose. So soone as Fulvius was en-
tered Beneuentum, it was shewed hym
that Hanno wyth a parte of his armye
was gone forth for wheate: and that.ii.
M. waines were come to the campe with
a greate rude sorte of people vnarmed,
where they laye mingled among the soul-
diours, kepyng no order after the vse of
men of warre. This knowen, the Con-
sul commaunded his men to be ready with
their baners & armure: for the next night
he woulde assaile the campanes, and the
sentes of the Carthaginenses. Thei exe-
cuting his commaundement made them
readye, and about.iiii. of the clocke, they
set forth of the towne, and came to Han-
nos campe, a litell before the dawning of
the daye. At theyr fyrste commyng, wyth
theyr sodayne noise, the Carthaginenses
became so fearefull, that if the campe had
bene pitched on playne ground, they had
wonne it with small resistance, but the
height of the hill, with the defences that
they had made thereabout, was such that
they could no waye get vp vnto them: but
by great steppes & climmyng. In the daw-
ninge of the daye the battaile beganne to
warre

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ware stronge, the Carthaginenses not
only defended theyr campe, but also they
kept the hill withoute, ever threwoinge
downe the Romas that stroue wonderfly
to climme the place. Neuerthelesse, at
length by great payne & trauaile, and al-
so with great losse & hurt of mē, they gate
to the diches of the campe. The Consull
advising wel, the mischiese that shold fal
to his cōpany, in winning the place, cal-
led the tribunes vnto him, sayeng: that he
wold no further at y time pursue his foo-
lish enterpryse, but y he would retourne
for that day to Beneuentū. And on y mo-
rowe he would ioyne his campe to y cape
of his ennies: so that the Campanes shuld
not issue out, nor hanno haue recourse a-
gain to the, whē he were returned. And
to bring this better & more surely to passe
he woulde sende for his sellowe Claudius
the consull, with his armye to assiste hym
therin when y tribune caused the retreat
to be soloned, his souldiours, y were ear-
nестly busy about their enterpryse would
geue no care thereto. Amonge other there
was one Vibius a capitaine of a cōpanye
of the Velignes, who strenght tooke his
baner in his hand, & with force threwe it
ouer

It ouer the ditch into the campe of the carthaginenses. Then sayd he: Quill mighte I fare and my company, if mine enemies shal enioye my banner. Then by greate force he lightly wente ouer the ditch, and clam vp, & entred the campe of his enemies: whom his companye boldlye followed. While they thus fought within the campe of the carthaginenses, on another part cried Valerius Flaccus, what slug-gishe cowardes are we now wahren: shall the belignes win the honoure of taking the campe of oure enemies before vs Romans? Where vpon Titus Pedanius a capitaine of a hundred men, toke his stander in hys hand from hys stander bearer, saynge: This stander wyll I beare into the fielde of myne enemies, folowe me sye as many as wolde be lothe of the losse therof. And anon he and his companye were gotten into that other parte of the campe. The consul perceiuinge their hardines, changed his mynde of callinge them away, and began to comfort them, exhorting the rest, to helpe their felowes, that so valiantlye fought in the campe of theyr enemies. By whose hartye wordes, euerye man inforced him selfe to enter

ter, not regardynge the dautes nor weapons of their enemies, as people fearing no perill, and as people that cared not for death, so they mighte die in the campe of their enemies. Thus within short space, that strong place was wonne, and aboue vi. M. slaine, and. vii. M. taken with the men of Campania, that came for corne, with all their cartes, and a rich pray that Hanno before had gotten in the fyeldes of the friends of the Romans. Whiche praye the consules solde (for by that time was Claudius also come thither) and therewith rewarded their men, specially Tibius and Pedanius. When Hanno hearde of the losse of his people, he fledde backe agayne to the Brutianes, wyth a fewe men which he had taken with him, to get in the wheate for the Campanes.

The Campanes, heringe of the losse of their men and frendes, sent to Anniball, shewing him, that both the consuls were at Beneuentum, within a dayes iorney of Capua, intending to lay siege to their citie. And it was to be feared, lesse (yf he did not shortly succour them) that the Romans wold winne and destroy that citie. They sayde further, that nother the ca-
stell

The warres betwene the
ffel of Tarent, noꝛ the towne also, ought
to be so much esteemed of him, as Capua,
the noblenes whereof he knew well hym
selfe. In so much that he was wonte to
compare it vnto Carthage. Wherefoꝛ
they trusted, that he wold not leaue it vn-
defended, to haue it spoiled and destroyed
by the Romaynes.

Annibal heringe this message, shewed
to the ambassadours, what loue he bare
vnto their citee, promising to be euer a de-
fender therof. With these gentil wordes
he sente them home againe, and he sente
with them also. ii. M. horsemen, by whose
helpe they myght defend their fieldes fro
robbinge and wastynge. In the meane
while. P. Cornelius the pꝛetoz, with cer-
taine shippes, laden with wheate, came
into the hauē of Tarent, thꝛough the hole
power of the Carthaginenses. He cau-
sed also suche souldiours as were at Me-
tapontus in garrison, to come to the cas-
tell of Tarent, there to remayne foꝛ the
defence therof: by whose communge, they
of the castell were thā sure from any hurt
of their enemies, but so soone as the in-
habitantes of Metapontus were deliuered
of the Romain garriso, they incōtinēt fel
in

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In leage & amitie wth Annibal. The herbpō
the Thurines, also hauing a grudge to y^e
Romans, foꝛ sleinge diuers of their fren-
des, as is aforesaide, deuised a meane, to
bring their citee to the amitie of Annibal
The kinsmen of theim that were slayne,
sente messangers to Hanno and Mago,
who than were among the Bꝛutiās: wil-
ling them to come with their army to lay
siege to the towne: not doubtynge, but
that one Marcus Attinius, the ruler of a
smalle company of the Romaynes, leste
foꝛ the defence of the towne, wold anon
be brought to issue out, and to geue them
battayle, vpon the truste that he had in
the yonge men of armes of the towne:
whome befoꝛe he had armed & instructed
in the seates of warre, after the Romain
facion. And they doute d not, but this soꝛt
wold doe hym smalle pleasure, whan he
shuld haue moſte nede of them. The two
capitaynes, herynge this glad tidinges,
with spede entred the fieldes of the Thu-
rines, diuidyng their compayne betwene
them. Hanno with the footemen, wyth
baners displayed, in good aray, went to-
ward the towne: Mago with all the horse
wth abode in a valey vnder certaine hilles
that

The warres betwene the
that were nigh the towne. Attinius knew
winge onelye of the company of souldiers
put his men in good arraye, & with greates
courage issued out of the towne, nothing
mistrusting the myschiefe wroughte a-
gainste hym within the towne. The bat-
taye was quicke on the parte of the Ro-
mans: but the Thurines stode as men
that gaue the loking on, not as enemies.
Hanno wyth his men of purpose gaue
backe, to drawe the Romaynes into the
daunger of their horsemen. And whan
they came nere the hilles, thā they fierly
assayled the Romaynes, and on the other
syde, Mago with his horsemen came so-
dainly and egerly vpon them: at the firste
encountringe the Thurines fledde into
the towne, as faste as they coude. The
Romaynes for a season maynteyned the
battaye: but at the last, beinge constrain-
ned thereto, they also fledde towarde the
towne. The traitours, that were causers
of all this myschiefe hadde gotten to the
gate with their power, and agaynste the
commynge backe of the Thurines that
fled, they kepte open the gates, and recei-
ued them into the towne: but whan the
Romaynes came sleynge, also thinkynge
to

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to haue entred with the other, they cried,
It is time nowe to shut the gates, for els
we shal let the Carthaginenses into the
towne amonge oure owne men, and so
lose all. Wher vpon they shut their gates
and suffered the Romayns to be slayne by
their enemies without succour. Onely
Attinius the capitaine, who gentilly had
ordered them, while he was ruler there,
they suffered to enter with a fewe wyth
hym: and incontynente they gaue him a
shippe in the hauen, & bad him saue hym
selfe by the sea. After whose departynge
they opened the gates, and receyued the
Carthaginenses.

Nowe were the consuls departed from
Beneuentum, to assaute Capua, thin-
king, that they shuld make their yere hap-
pie and honozable to them, if they might
winne Capua, that was so noble & riche:
and reuenge theym of the iniuries, by
them before done. Neuerthelesse, to the
intente the Beneuentanes should not be
left withoute succours in theyr absence,
they sente to Titus Gracchus, who was
than in the cuntrey of the Lucans, com-
maunding him, with his horsemen and
other lighte footemen, to come to Bene-
uentum:

The warres betwene the

Beneuentum : leaupnge with the Lucanes the rest of his men, vnder some captaine, who he might truste.

The Lucans were than diuided, diuers towne were rendred vp to Anniball, and certayne abode vnder the Romaynes iurisdiction: of the which sort the chiefe ruler that yere was one Flavius, a Lucan. Thys Flavius sodeinly was tourned in hys mynde to Anniball, and to obteyne his fauoure, he sente to Mago, that was than among the Busians, to come speke with him. When they were met, a composition was made betwene them, that if he coulde deliuer Gracchus, the captaine of the Romaine army, the Lucanes shulde be frendly receiued in amitie with the Carthaginenses, and liue after their owne lawes. Than brought he Mago to a great couert, where he willed him with a great noubmer of men of armes to hide him, & appointing him a time, at whiche he wold bring thither the Romaine captaine. After this appoyntmente he departed, and went to Gracchus, to whom he shewed, that he had begunne secretlye a great enterpryse, whyche to bringe to effecte, he muste haue hys helpe and assistance.

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assistance. I haue (sayde he) moued and perswaded all the princes of the Lucans, that were gone to the amytie of Anniball, nowe to retourne agayne to the obedience of Rome. I haue declared vnto them the encrease of the Romaynes power, whiche dayelye we may perceiue, and the decrease of the strenght of the Carthaginenses. And I bad them not mistrust the gentilnes of the Romas, whose nature we haue ever tryed to bee meeke and gentill to suche as haue rebelled against them, vpon humble submyssion to them made. With these my perswasions they be all contented to be reconciled: so that they may here you speake the same, laipnge your righte hande in theirs, as a pledge of your faith, wherunto they may truste. And I haue (sayde he) undertaken, that you shall do it, and I haue appointed them for that composition a secret place, wel out of the way, from our companie, for feare of espies, yet not far from youre campe: where, wyth fewe wordes, you maye go thzough with them in this matter, and by this meane bring all the Lucanes wholly vnder your iurisdiction. Gracchus nothing mistrustinge dyscite and

The warres betwene the
 and treason to be in his wordes, toke hys
 officers and horsemen wyth hym, all vn-
 armed, and so rode to the place appointed
 hauinge Flavius wyth hym as a gypde.
 So soone as they were come thither, Ma-
 go wyth his army inuaded them sodaine-
 ly. And to make the treason moze euident
 Flavius incontinente ioynded hym to the
 Carthaginenses. Than was there plente-
 tie of dartes caste at Gracchus, and hys
 horsemen, and whan he saw no other re-
 medye, he alight from his horse, and bad
 his compagne doe the same, exhortynge
 them, since they were but few in number
 and vnarmed, in suche place, where they
 coulde by no waye escape, that they wold
 not dye like beastes vntreuged, but that
 wyth noble hertes they shuld assaile their
 ennemies, and dye bathed and besprink-
 led in the bloudde of theyr ennemyes:
 wherby they shoulde ende in most hono-
 ur. But specially aboue all thinge (sayde he)
 let euerye of vs seeke to slea that Lucane
 traitoure Flavius, not doubtinge, but
 whosoever shall send that traitours soule
 to hell, before he die him selfe, he shal find
 the oblacion thereof, to doe hym muche
 comfozte and solace. As sone as he hadde
 thus

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thus spoken, he threwe hys cloke aboute
 his lefte arme, in steede of his shielde, and
 ranne vpon his enemies, who wyth their
 dartes and weapons, slewe most parte of
 the Romaynes. And when they sawe
 Gracchus without helpe, they intended
 to take him on lyue: but so soone as he
 perceyued Flavius among his enemies,
 he ranne throughe the thickest of theym
 wyth suche force, to haue slayne him, that
 they were there constrained to slea hym
 or els he had done them great hurte.
 Whose body Mago caused to be brought
 to Anniball, and he caused it to be buried
 wyth much honour.

Centenius Denula and Cneius Fuluius,
 wyth theyr two armies, be discomfited
 and slayne by Anniball, in severall
 battayles. Cap. xxxviii.

In this meane season were
 the Consuls entred the fiel-
 des of the Campanes, their
 men ouerspreading the coun-
 trey, robbing, spoyling, and
 wasting in diuers places, which beyng
 perceyued, Mago wyth his horsemen, by
 the

The warres betwene the
the helpe of the townes men, issued oute
todayne lye on theym, and ere ever they
could gather together in order of battaile
slew of them one thousand, & five hun-
dred. Whiche losse caused the Consulles
more circumspectly to worke in all theyr
proceedinges afterwarde.
Anniball hearing of this prosperous bat-
taile of the Campanes in his absence,
drew nere vnto Capua with his armye
thinkinge that the Romaines shoulde be
much lesse able to endure his power toy-
ned to the Campanes. Wherefore the thirde
day after his comming, he displayde his
baners, and set his compani in order and
goodly aray, redy to fyght. The Romaines
likewise made them redy, and the horse-
men on both sides fought strongly for a
season, til both partes perceiued a strange
army coming toward them: whereof nei-
ther of them were prisyue. The trueneth
thereof was, that C. Cornelius, the bea-
ryng the office of Questor at Rome, had
taken the legions, whych the yere before
were vnder Semprouius, & was coming
to the ayde of the Consuls, but his com-
ing was vnknown made as wel the Con-
sulles, as Anniball: so that, as it
were

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were by agrement, both partes withdrew
to their campes; the Romaines hauinge
somewhat more lesse than the Carthagi-
nenses. Then the Consulles willinge to
drawe Anniball away from Capua, de-
uisid the night folowynge to depart away
Fulsius with his host, wente to destroye
the felde of the Cumans. Appius with
his host went to the Lucans. Anniball in
the morning, hauing knowlege of these
sundry departinge diuers wayes, was a
while in doubt, whether of the he might
folowe: at laste he determined to folowe
Appius, wherein he was much deceyued
For he leding him a great compasse about
the countreies, at his pleasure, returned
againe an other waye to Capua. What
fortune a while smiling on Anniball, sette
him such chaunces, that he was a lesse
stayed in those parties. One was the foo-
lysh hardines of one Centenius Penu-
la a gentleman of goodly stature of body
and of noble courage of minde, correspon-
dent to the same.

This Centenius, beinge brought into
the Senate house by P. Cornelius Sulla
desired of the senators that he mighte,
haue deliuered him only. v. M. souldiours
with whose helpe he doubted not but

The warres betwene the
that with the knoweledge that he had,
both of the countreyes and also of the sea-
tes of his ennemye, we would with the
same subtiltee & pollicies deceyue Anni-
ball, by which he befoze had deceyued the
Romaynes. This his vnwise promyse
vnto them, was as vnwiselye beleued of
them. And where he demaunded but .v.
M. they gaue him .viij. M. men: and he in
the countreyes as he went gathered toge-
ther almost as many mo, of such as wil-
linglye went with him, hauinge hope in
his courage and promise. With this nu-
bze of men he came into the fieldes of the
Lucanes, where Annibal had rested him
and his companye, weary of the chase of
Appius Claudius. When eyther of the,
saue others army, they incontinent put
theyr folke in aray. The matche was not
equal neither of captaines nor of souldi-
ours, neuerthelesse the battayle endured
more than two houres. Centenius per-
ceiuing his part to suffer the worse, and
fearinge, leasse if he should liue after his
men were slayne, he should suffer greate
shame and infamy, duringe his life, for
the losse of suche a numbze of men by his
foolyshe enterpryse: at the laste willinglye
he

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he entred the thickest prease of his enne-
mies, where he was shortlye slayne, and
then his men fled on a ll partes, but they
were so hard chased with horsemen, that
of that great company, there escaped scāt
one thousand.

One other happy chaunce fortune sent
to Annibal, as it were for a farewell or
leue taking of him, befoze he thought to
depart to the Romans: the occasion ther-
of was, that one Cneius Fuluius, bea-
ring the office of Pretor, lay then in Apu-
lia with his host, besieging such towne-
as befoze were come to the amitee of the
Carthaginenscs. And in his busines he
had so wel sped, & was become so welthy
and riche, both he & his men, with praies
whiche they had taken, that leauinge all
good order of warre, or the payneful pur-
suite thereof, they were growen into
slouth and sluggish pelenes. Of theyr
vndiscrete order the Apulians sent word
to Annibal by messangers. And he kno-
wing by experience what woulde folwe
the gouernance of an army by a vnwise
capitaine, wherof of late he had the triall
by Centenius, with spede he remoued in
to the costes of Apulia. When the Ro-
maines

The warres betwene the
maynes had knowlege, that their ene-
mies approached, and were even at hande
they were al minded to dispaye their ba-
ners, and to haue runne to battaille with
out the commaundemente of theyr cap-
tayne. The night folowynge, Anniball
perceyvinge their great haste to battayle
commaunded. iiii. M. of his lighte men of
waire, to lie pryncipally hid in woods, bushes
& couertes, next adoyning, geuyng them
a signe or token, at what time they shuld
issue out & assaile theyr ennies. The cau-
sed he Mago with. ii. M. horsemen, to lye
pryncipally in the wayes, by which he deemed
the Romaines would flee after their dis-
comfiture. These thinges in the nyghte
time beinge wisely disposed, earlye in the
mornynge he came with his hoste into the
feldes, puttyng the reste of his men in
goodly aray.

On the other side Fuluius p[re]tor made
no tarteng being much inforced thereto by
the hasty wilfulness of his souldiours:
wherefore with such aduiselemente as they
came into the feld, with such like aduise-
ment were the battailles ordred. For euery
man went to what place him seemed
best

best, & chose his company with whom he
would be: & somtime chaunged his place
at his pleasure. The foreward & the lefte
wing were first ordered & that al in length
& of a small thickenesse. The Tribunes
cryed to the, to set more strength of men,
in the middell of their battailles, or elles
theyr ennies might easily go throughe
the with small force at theyr pleasure.

But they were so wilful, and hasty, that
they gave no eare to theyr wordes. By
that time were the Carthaginenses come
in good order redy to ioyne: at whose first
coming with great noise & bruite, the Ro-
maines were put to the worse: wherupon
the capitayne seinge all like to go to mis-
chiese, take his horse, and with two hun-
dred horsemen with him, fled. The reste
that abode, were almoste al slayne, for of
xviii. M. of the companye, there escaped
not passe two thousande anye.

The tentes and stufte was also taken by
the Carthaginenses, whiche was a good
praye. The tidynge of these greateso-
dayne losses were broughte to Rome,
whych caused the citee to be in greateso-
fear and mournynge.

¶ Penerthe

The warres betwene the
Neuerthelesse because both the Consuls
with their armies were safe, & did sum-
what prosper in theyr affayres, they toke
the more comfort to them. And inconti-
nent sent messengers to the Consules,
willing them to searche for all suche as
were escaped at these two battayles, and
that they shoulde be gathered together,
and called vnto them: least either for fear
or for dispayre, they would yelde them to
theyr enemies, which thing with all dy-
ligence they did execute.

The citee of Capua is besyged by the two
Consuls, Anniball cometh to the succour of the
Citizens, geueth the Consuls battayle, from
thens goeth to Rome warde wyth hys
hoste, to thintent thereby to drawe
the Consuls from the siege of
Capua. Cap. xxxix.

In the meane season was Capua com-
passed, and besyged by both the Con-
sules and greate prouision of corne
made for the same, & layde in garners
in the castel of Castelinus. Then sente
they to Sueslula, for Claudius Nero the
pretor, who leauing a smal garriso there
came him selfe to them to Capua, wyth
all his power. Thus was Capua compas-
sed with three great armies, on. iii. par-
tes and to enclose the citsens the more

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 145
surely, they prepared to compass the hois-
citee with a greate dicke. And therebpon
they made manye castels a good dystance
thone from the other. The campanes to
let their worke, issued oute manye tymes
and fought with the Romans: but theyr
fortune was euer such, that they lost still
of their men, and at the laste were con-
strained to kepe them within the walles
of theyr citee. But before the workes of
siege was so strait and stronge, they had
sent ambassadours to Annibal, complay-
nyng, that he had forsaken them and his
citee of Capua: & that if he dyd not shor-
tly succoure them, they muste yelde them
to the Romans. To whom Annibal an-
swered, that of late he had rescued them,
and raised their siege ones, and that shor-
tly he wolde come to helpe them againe,
not doubting, but the Romaines shoulde
be vnable to resist his power at his com-
minge. With this comfortable message
they retourned to their citee, which they
founde so compassed with a double dicke,
that with peine could they find the meane
to enter into it: neyther coulde they haue
entred, had not the letters of. P. Corne-
lius the pretor bene, wherein he aduysed
the

The warres betwene the
the consuls, befoze the dyche shuld be fully
ly synge the, to proclaime, that as manye
of the Campanes as wolde issue wyth
their baggage and bagges, befoze a daye
by him limitted, shuld go free where they
wold, and haue their goodes their owne.
After that daye, so manye as remayned,
they wold take and vse as their enemies.
But this proclamacion was so dysdaine-
fully taken of the Campanes, that beside
that there wold none issue out of the citee
they also spake proude and opprobrious
wordes in dispite of the Romaynes.
Whereupon the woorkes of the dyche were
ended, and the citee fully enclosed.

Annibal, desyrous to succour his greate
frendes of Capua, left al his heuy cartiage
amonge the Brutians, and with a great
number of chosen horsemen and lyghte
footemen, hasted thither as faste as he
might, & after his host came. xxiij. of hys
Elephantes. With this army he came to
the valey that was vnder a mountayne
adjoining to Capua, called Misata, & the
Romans had any knowledge of his com-
ming. Whā sent he spies to the Romains
hoste to Capua, commaundinge them so
soone as he shoulde geue them battaile on
his

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 144
his parte, that Hostar and Mago, wyth
the horsemen and garrison of the Car-
thaginensis, assemblynge also all the po-
wer of the citezens, shuld sodaineiye issue
oute of the citee: and wyth force assaile
theyr ennemyes. This deuise of Annibal
was erecuted wyth so sodayne crye and
clamoure: that the Romaynes were in
greate feare and daunger. Neuertheles
with as greate speede as they coulde, they
prepared theyr battayles, and diuided
theyr people. Appius Claudius wente
to withstande the Campanes, and Ful-
uius wente against Annibal. Claudius
was strong enough for his enemyes, but
Fuluius was hardly handled of the Car-
thaginensis and Spanyards. One com-
panye or legyon of hys men were dyggen
backe, and than a great company of Spa-
nyards, with thre elephantes, had broke
the myddel warde of the Romaynes, and
were come to the trenche of the campe,
redye to enter into the tentes and camps
of their enemyes. Whā Fuluius sawe,
what daunger hys people & campe were
in, he cryed to M. Manius, and other pe-
tie capitaines, exhortinge them to assaile
that company of Spanyards, y sought at
the

The warres betwene the
the Sicche: he wynged them what daunger
all was in, onlesse they myghte sone be
confounded, which was easye enough to
be done, sence there was of them no grea-
ter a number. Hannus was a strong mā,
and of a huge stature. And whan he hard
the consules exhortacion, anone he toke
the standerde from him that bare it, and
commaunding his companie, boldlye to
take parte with him, he set forth toward
the Spaniardes, with great courage. As
sone as the Spaniardes, saw hym draw
nere, they threwe plenty of dartes at him,
and began violently to assaile hym. But
he nother beinge stayde wyth the multy-
tude of his enemyes, nor with the dartes
that were caste at hym, with greate force
wente still forwarde, till by the helpe of
Marcus Attilius, Portius Lucius, and
other, they had slaine the elephantes, and
made great slaughter also of Spaniards.
On the other part, the Campanes were
driven backe, wyth the garrisson also of
Punidian and Carthaginenses: so that
the battaile was stronge even at the very
gate of Capua, that was toward the ri-
uer of Vulturnus. This gate was gar-
nished with crossebowes darts and other
suche

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suche ingins, whereby manye of the Ro-
mains were wounded by the shot oute of
the towre of the gate. Amonge other, the
consull Appius claudius was sore hurte
on the brest vnder the lefte shoulder. Ne-
uerthelasse the citezens wyth their hel-
pers were dreyue into the citee with great
slaughter and losse of theyr company.
Annibal seying the slaughter of his Spa-
niardes, and that the Romaines so man-
fullye defended theyr campes, he caused
his people to withdraue them, and made
the horsemen to abyde hindermost for the
defence of the footemen, yf theyr enne-
mies happed to chase them. The Romai-
nes were very eger, and wold haue follo-
wed them in the chase, had not Flaccus
caused to sounde the retreat.

In this bataile Annibal wroughte one
craftye pointe, he sente diuers of his men
forth, that could speake the latine tunge,
into diuers partes of the hoste of the Ro-
maynes, whiche should in the Consules
behalf declare, that the Romayne cam-
pes were taken and spoyled. Wherefore
he wylled euery man to saue him selfe by
fleyng to the next mountaynes, sence by
lenger taryng, the greater shuld be theyr
losse.

The warres betwene the
losse. This craftie deceite made many of
them amased: but at the last it was espied
to the greate slaughter of their enemies.
After this battaile the Romaynes kepte
them in their campes, and so straghtlye
besieged the citee, that Anniball seynge
he coulde no more drawe them forth to
bataile, nother through the campes of the
Romaynes haue anye waye to enter into
Capua, fearing lest his vitalles shoulde be
cut from him and his host: he determined
to depart from thens. And than he ima-
gined, that he wolde go towarde Rome,
not doubtyng, but whan the Romayne
captaines shoulde perceyue Rome their head
citee to be in anye daunger, that eyther
one or both wolde leaue capua, and come
to the defence thereof. And than their po-
wers beyng diuided, bothe partes shoulde
be the weaker: and he trusted, that either
he or the campanes shoulde haue a fayre
daye of some of them. One thinge trou-
bled hym soze, lest the campanes seing
hys departinge from them, wolde incon-
tynent yelde the citee to the Romaynes.
Wherfore by faire words and great gif-
tes, he had gotten one of Numidia to goe
with his letters throughte the campes of
the

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the Romaynes, as one that was runne a-
way from the carthaginenses army & whā
he shoulde come to the further parte of the
host towarde the citee, than secretlye to
enter into capua, and deliuer hys letters,
which were ful of comfort, declaring hys
departing to be for theyr profite, to thin-
tent onely to withdraue theyr ennemies
from capua, to defende their owne citee,
bidding them not to dispayre, but to take
paciēce for a season, trustyng shortlye to
lose them of the daunger they were in.
Soone after he departed with his hoste, &
passed the ryuer of Volturnus, takyng
the waye toward Rome. His commynge
caused greate heuynes in the citee. The
senatours consulted, what was beste for
to be done in this dangerous case. At
length it was agreed, that M. Fuluius
shuld come fro capua, with a certayne le-
gions with him, leauing his felow at the
siege with a nūber sufficient for that pur-
pose. M. Fuluius, hauing this comaund-
ment, toke with him. xv. M. fotemen and
one thousande horsemen, and followed
Anibal as spedely as he could. Now was
Annibal come within. iii. miles of Rome
where he pyched hys tentes, and made
hys

The warres betwene the
his campe on a ryuer side: And soone af-
ter came Quintus Fulvius Flaccus in-
to Rome with his armye, and consulted
with the senators of hys affaires that were
to be done touchinge their ennemyes.
Than toke Anniball. ii. M. horsemen
wyth hym, and came to the walles and
gates of Rome, rydyng from the gate
called Porta Collida, to the Temple of
Hercules, viewyng the situation of the
citee, and the strengthe of the walles.
This bolde and highe mynde of Annibal
in so doyng, Fulvius Flaccus coulde not
suffer: but incontinent sent forth a great
nومber of horsemen, who wyth force
droue their ennemyes to theyr campe.
The next daye Annibal came into the
fielde with his host in good aray, redy to
geue battayle. And Flaccus haupyng
wyth hym the two newe consuls, that of
late were chosen, wyth their powers,
made hym redye also to battaile. Thus
whan bothe partes were redye to goe to-
gether, abydyng the chaunce of fortune,
whether of them shoulde be maister of the
noble citee of Rome: there came sodainly
on them so behemente a storme of rayne
and haile together, that bothe the partes
were

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were fayne to withdralve theym to theyr
camps. The next day they were likewise
readye to ioyne battayle, whan a lyke
storme also departed them agayne. And
after theyr departure incontinente the
weather wared very byghte and fayne,
and all the wyndes ceased, whych euell
chaunces toke away the heartes and cou-
rage from Annibal and his companye,
for euer to enioye the cite of Rome.
Wherfore hauing no further hope ther-
of, he retourned back in haste to the Bru-
tians: And the consul Quintus Fulvius
retourned to Capua to his felowe.

The oration of Tibius Atilius, concerninge
the yeldyng of Capua, the Romaynes re-
ceyue the towne, sica the senators, and
conuerthe the groundes thereof to
the propyte of theyr citee.

Cap. xl.

When the Campanes perceyuing the
retourne of Quintus Fulvius
and not of Annibal, iudged the
selues then to be utterly forsak-
ken of hym. Wherfore wepyng & moner-
ing, the noble men kepte them in theyr
houses

The warres betwene the
houses lokyng dayly for theyr owne dea-
thes, and distruction of the citee. The
hole charge of the keeping thereof was in
Bostar and Hanno, captaynes of the ga-
rison of the Carthaginenses. They fea-
ring their owne estate, sent pryncely let-
ters to Annibal somewhat sharply wy-
ten, wherein they blamed him not onely
for leauing the citee of Capua, to the han-
des of the Romaynes: but also that he
committing his capitaines & his sure frē-
des & souldiours of his retinue, into the
handes of his enemyes, to suffer tormēts
intollerable, was him selfe gone to the
Brucians, because he would not see be-
fore him the takynge of Capua. Where-
fore they sayde, in case he would come a-
gayne to them, and retourne his hole po-
wer thither, they with the hole power of
Capua, would be readye to breake forth
on theyr enemyes, trussinge to wyne
thereby muche honour. They sayde also,
that his comyng ouer the mountaynes
was not to warre wyth the Rhegines,
or wyth the Tarentines, but with the Ro-
maines. and where the Romayne legiōs
were, there should the armye of the Car-
thaginenses also be. And so doing, he had
for

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for the most parte euer good speede, as at
Cannas, at Trasimenus, & diuers other
places, by geuing the battaile valiantly.
These letters were sent by one of sumi-
dia, an espy, that counterfayted him selfe
to be run from the Carthaginenses ar-
my, for the hunger that dayly oppressed
the citee. Other letters also of the same
effect were sent by diuers other sumidi-
ans, but it chaunced, that a woman who
one of the messengers had kepte as his
harlot, feeling great hunger in the citee,
ranne out of the towne into the tentes of
the Romain consull Flaccus, and decla-
red vnto him of suche an espye, that was
in his campe, whyche had letters to con-
uaye to Annibal. This man was found
out. And when he came before her, he de-
nyed anye parte of her accusation to be
true, he denyed also, that he knewe the
woman. But when he sawe tormentes
prepared for him, he confessed the whole
trathe, and also he confessed, that manye
other of his facion were amonge the Ro-
maines, who wayted; but theyr tyme,
when they might escape from the Romain
host, wyth like letters to Annibal. Ther
vpon serche was made, and about. lxx. of
them

The warres betwene the
them taken: who were beaten fyrst wyth
rodde, and then had theyr handes cry-
ken of, and were sent agayne into the ci-
tee, to theyr captaynes.

¶ When the capitayns sawe that extreme
punyshmente shewed to theyr messan-
gers, theyr heartes began to fayle theym
¶ Hereupon Lelius that yere rular of
the citee, called a generall counsaile. In
the whyche many of the senatoures mo-
ued, that ambassadours should be sent to
the Romayne consuls: but Tibius Viri-
us, who was the chiefe causer of the yel-
dyng of Capua to Anniball, beyng de-
maunded of his opinion therein, aunswere-
d, that all they that spake of peace ta-
kyng, or of the yelding of Capua oughte
to remembre, bothe what they woulde
haue done, if they had the Romaynes in
their power, in lyke case as they had the,
and also what the Campanes were lyke
to suffer, when they were submitted
wholy to theyr pleasure.

¶ Let vs (sayde he) remember, howe lea-
uyng theyr frendshyp, we submitted vs
to, & not contented therewith, we slewe
all the Romaynes lefte here in garrison
wyth vs. And to haue the certayne know-
ledge

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ledge of theyr heartes and enuy towards
vs, let vs call befoze vs theyr actes done
of late agaynst vs, and thereby ye shall
perceue, what kyndenes we are lyke to
haue at theyr handes. Anniball a straun-
ger, and theyr vtter enemye being in Ita-
lye, and the countrey on all partes fulfyl-
led with warre: yet they leauinge Anni-
ball and all other their busines, sent both
the Consules wyth theyr whole armyes
to besiege Capua, where we by long con-
tinuall kepinge of the same syege, are al-
most famyshed wyth hunger, but for fur-
ther prose of theyr malice towarde vs, let
vs consider, that although Annibal com-
ming to our succours, had almost wonne
theyr campes, slaine many of theyr men,
and put them in great ieopardy of losing
all that they had: yet all that ieopardous
peryll of losse neuer could moue them to
remoue theyr syege. Afterward when he
had passed the riuer of Vulturnus, bour-
ning the fieldes of Calenus theyr sayth-
full frendes: yet coulde not the hurtes of
theym call the captaynes from our mise-
rable syege. ¶ And then he caused his ba-
ners to be displayde befoze the walles of
the citee of Rome: sayeng that onles they
would

The warres betwene the
would leaue Capua, he would take the
hygh citee of Rome from the. Yet would
they not leaue the siege of Capua, beares
wulues, and all wilde beastes, be they in
neuer so great a rage and fure, if a man
goe to theyr caues, where theyr yonge
whelpes lye: anone they wil leaue al that
they are about, and renne frefgnt to the
defence of theyr yonge: but the furpous
Romaynes, when Rome was compas-
sed aboute with theyr ennemies, neyther
for their wiues and their children (whose
lamentable wepynges myghte be hearde
almoste hither) neyther for theyr houses,
the temples of their goddes, nor for feare
of biolatynge the sepultures of theyr an-
cestours, coude be withdrauen from the
syege of Capua, so desirous they be to ex-
ecute on vs greuous punymente: And
so sore they do thirste to drinke of oure
bloud. And but reason: for happelye we
shoulde haue done likewise to them, yf
fortune had serued vs. Therefore sens it
is the pleasure of the goddes, that nedes
I must dye: yet wyll I chuse me a deathe
both honeste and gentle: whereby I wyll
escape the tormentes and dyspytes that
myne enemies trust to put me vnto.

When

Romaynes and the Carthaginians. 150
When Fulcius and Claudius shall so-
lemnly with triumph enter into Rome
I will not bounden or drawen before them
as a spectacle or wondring stocke, and af-
ter put in prison, or being tyed to a poste
suffer my body to be scourged, and at last
haue my head stryke from my body with
the are of Rome, neyther wyll I lye to
se my countrey destroyed & bourned, or to
se the noble matrones & maidens of Ca-
pua rauished and despyled. In the begyn-
nings of the flourisshynge, of the citee of
Rome, the Romaynes destroyed the citee
of Alba, & threwe it downe to the ground
yet had they theyr originall fro the same
citee, what trowe ye than they will do to
Capua, which they hate more than they
do Carthage: Therefore friends so ma-
ny of you, as be desyrous to dye, before ye
see these so manye, and so spytefull myse-
ryes, come this daye to dinner with me,
your meat is already dressed, & when we
be well filled wyth wyne and good mea-
tes, a cuppe of drynke, that I will fyrst e-
drynke my selfe, shal be borne about to e-
uery one of you & that drinke shal deliuer
the bodye from tormentes, the mynde
from

The warres betwene the
from rebukes, the eyes and the eares full
the syght and hearing of, all cruel despyr-
tes that be prepared for people that are
ouercome. After when we shall be deade
our seruantes shall be readye to throwe
oure bodies into great fyres made for the
purpose, there to be bourned, and so shall
we neuer come into the handes of our e-
nemyes. This is the onely honest and
free waye to dye, whereby our enemyes
shall maruayle and wonder at our noble
courage. And Anniball shall thereby well
perceyue, that he hath forsaken and be-
trayed his haliant and faythful felowes.
This oration of Tibius was hearde and
well allowed of many mo than had har-
tes to folowe it, or put it in execution, for
the moze part of the senators sayd, that
they had ofte times in warres had expe-
ryence of the ppye and gentlenesse of
the Romaines shewed to their enemies
in such extremitie, not mistrusting, but
they should finde them merciful now to
them, vpon humble request to the made:
and therupon determined to send legates
to the consull, to yelde them by capua.
Tibius Virius went home to his house
to dyner, whō eyght & twenty senators
folowed

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 151
folowed, where they dined, & drunke plen-
tie of wine, to the intent they might haue
the lesse feeling of the last dredeful drinke
whan it came. At the lasse they all recey-
ued the popson, and went from the table,
takinge eyther other by the handes, and
louinglye embzasyng one another lamen-
ted theyr owne deathes, with the destruc-
tion of the countrey. Some remayned
there, and dyed, and were bourned in the
fyres made for that intente: some wente
home to theyr houses, and there made
their ende: so that befoze the towne was
deliuered to the Romaines, none of them
were lefte on liue.

The next day the gates were opened,
and the Romaines suffred to enter. Than
were al the gates kept by the Romaines,
that no man shuld go forth, and firste all
the armoure and wepons were broughte
to the Romaine capitaine: than were the
Carthagynenses of the garryson taken
and put in prison. The Senators were
commaunded to goe to the consuls, than
beinge in their tentes, from whens suche
as were mosse consentinge to the recey-
uinge of Anniball, were sente to sundrye
prisons. xxv. to Cales, & xxviii. to Thea-
nus,

The warres betwene the
nus, untill it was agreed, what punishment
they should haue. Their gold & syluer
was brought in, and deliuered to the offi-
cers, called Quæstors. Claudius the con-
sull was muche inclined to take the sena-
tors to mercy: Fuluius on the other syde
wolde haue them suffer, in example of o-
ther rebelles and traitours. Wherefore
Claudius remitted al thing to the iudge-
ment of the senate of Rome, & sent thither
to know their pleasure therein. Whereupon
Fuluius, fearing lest he should be staied of
his purpose, commaunded the tribunes,
with. ii. M. horsemen, to be redye to ryde
with him at the third blast of y trumpet.
With this company of horsemen in the night
he departed from the army, and by that it
was day light, came to Theanus, where
causinge the senators of Capua there
being prisoners, to be brought before him
incontinent he caused them to be violent-
ly scourged wyth rodde, and after to
haue theyr heades stricken of. Fro thens,
as fast as he might he hied to Cales, and
there likewise sat vpon the iudgement of
the other senators of Capua. But why-
les they were going to execution one came
from the senate of Rome, riding in great
hast,

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hast, with letters, willing him to stay the
iudgemente and execution of the punish-
ment of the Campanian senators. Whā Ful-
uius iudging the letters to be written for
that intent, neuer disclosed them, but put
them in his bosom, sayng to the officers
that they should procede quickly to the exe-
cution accordynge to the lawe: So were
they also whynned, and after had theyr
heades stricken of. Whā the consull drew
forth his letters, and redde them, sayinge
they came verie late, to let the thyng
that was alredye done. From Cales he
returned to Capua, and there put diuers
other in prison, beside many of the citee y
were sold. Whā was there greate debate
in the senate at Rome whether the citee
of Capua should be burned and utterly di-
stroyed. in example of other rebelles or
not. Muche it moued them so to doe,
for that it was a greate and a strong
citee, & a very nere neighbour vnto them
which if it should be an enemy againe to
Rome, as it late was, shoulde greatlye
dysquiete the Romaynes. Neuerthelesse
in conclusyon, considering the fertyltye
of the grounde, whyche was the beste
of all Italye, they agreed to vse it to their
profite,

The warres betwene the
profite, hauing plowmen laborers and
ther to manure and til the groundes, and
the houses to be inhabited with rude peo-
ple, and men of handye craftes: so that it
shuld be a citee of no hodge polytike, nor
haue senatours, or other commune coun-
sell or rulers, but onely a iudge yerely to
be sente from Rome, to minyster iustyce
amonge theim. By this meane was the
citee preserued from bitter destruction,
and the profite thereof, with the speldes
adjoining, employed to the common pro-
fite of the Romaines.

¶ Marcus Marcellus wynneth the citee of Syracusa
in Sicilia. P. Scipio, and Cneius Scipio
are all slayne in Spayne, with a greate
number of Romaines. Cap. xli.

Duringe the busines of Capua,
and the warres about the same
fortune also fauoured the Ro-
maines touching their affaires
in Sicilia. For Marcellus, capytayne of
the Romaines army there, so wisely and
circumspectly gouerned him selfe and his
people, that he wan the noble citee of Sy-
racusa, In whiche he had abondance of
riches

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ryches, as greate as yf he had taken the
greate citee of Carthage, wyth whych
(it was thought) in all thinges it myghte
wel as than haue bene compared. In the
end of the yere, whan the time of chosing
of new consuls was come. Marcus Mar-
cellus, for hys well proued experyence,
was chosen consul, & appoynted to match
Annibal concerning the warres of Italy.
And Marcus Valerius Leuinus was e-
lecte the other consull: to whome thende
of the warres of Sicilia were wholly com-
mitted: who by hie industrie, and by the
treason of certaine Numidians, wan the
towne of Agrigentum, whereby he droue
Hanno, Epicles, and all the armye of
Carthage out of Sicilia: and soone after
brought the hole cuntrey into the subiec-
tion of the Romaynes.

While the warres of Sicilia and aboute
Capua were brought to this good passe,
Cn. Scipio & Publius hys brother, were
as busy in Spayne, but not with like suc-
cesse. They had counsailed togyther, the
sommer folowing, so to solow y warres,
that the carthaginenses shoulde be cleane
driuen out of Spayne. And to be strong e-
nough therfoze, they hired. xxx. thousand
men

The warres betwene the
men of warre of Celtiberia. The power
of Carthage was divided in.iii. armies,
gouerned by thre capitaines, Asdruball,
the sonne of Gylgon, & Mago, these two
capitaines laye. v. daies iourney from the
Romaine legions: the thyrde, whiche
was Asdrubal, the sonne of Amilcar, the
auncient capitayne of the Carthagynen-
ses in that countrey, laye at Auniturgu-
m, more nere vnto the Romaines: and
hadde in pourpose the summer folowing
to passe the mountaynes, to conuey
his armie to Annibal. This his pourpose
to lette, the two Scipios thoughte fytte
to assaile hym alone from hys company,
not doubtyng, but they were stronge
enough so to dooe. They greatest feare
was, lest whan they had ouercome hym.
That the other Asdruball & Mago, hear-
ing therof, wolde flee into the mountai-
nes and straytes with their power, and
so prolong the warres in Spaine. Wher-
fore to make an ende of all they trouble
at ones, they concluded to parte they ar-
mies in twayne, P. Cornelius with two
partes shoulde goe against the two cap-
taines that lay together. And Cn. Scipio
with the thyrde parte of they olde armye,
and

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and with the Celtiberians shoulde assaile
the other Asdruball, the sonne of Amil-
car. With these mindes they set forth to-
gether toward they ennemies. Cn. Sci-
pio whan he came to Auniturgium, rested
with his company in the sight of his ene-
mies, hauinge a ryuer betwene hym and
them, his brother wet forth, as it was a-
greed betwene theim. Asdruball percei-
uing the nuber of the Romaines to be but
small: and that all they strength was in
strangers late hyred, knowing the faction
of the people, howe vntrue and vnstable
they were: by the meane of Spaniards,
that could speake the language, so great
summes of money he corrupted the prin-
ces and rulers of them: so that they were
agreed to departe home wyth theyr holo
power. They were not desyred or hyred
to vndertake the warres with Asdruball
against the Romaines, but only to depart
without fighting. Wher vnto they were
sone intreated, partly for that they hadde
as large wages as thonghe they shoulde
haue foughten. And againe for that they
were gladd to retourne home to they
countreis and frendes, auoiding the daun-
ger of warre. Therefore sodainly they
with

with theyr baners and cartage departed. The Romaines meruaillynge what thys sodeine chaunge ment, enquired of them the cause of their departure. They answered, they were sente for home to defende theyr owne countrey which was oppressed also with warre. Other aunswere coulde they none gette: nother were the Romaines able to kepe them with force. Scipio knowynge, that without them he was nothinge able to encounter Asdruball, and also seynge no waye howe he myghte recouer the companye of his brother: his ennemyes beyng so nere, and comminge on hym, was meruaylously astonied: yet he thought beste, in no wyse to meete with hym on euen grounde, he was so farre ouermatched.

Wherefore a lyttel and a lyttel he with drew him backe, sekyng some place of strength, where he mighte succoure hym selfe and his small companye. What perceiuing Asdrubal passed the ryuer with his host, and folowed after, with as much speede as he coulde.

Nowe was. P. Scipio hys brother as much troubled on his part, by reason of Massanissa, a yonge lustye prynce of Numidia,

Numidia, who beinge than a frende to the Carthaginenses, was come with a good power of Numidians to the succoure of Mago and Asdruball the sonne of Syllagon, he was fierce and of a great courage the Romaines could neyther go abode, for vitayles wood, or suche necessaries, but he with his Numidians was euer ready to oppresse them: and diuers times in the nyghte he woulde assaile them in theyr campe, as people that were besieged. There was also tidinges broughte to Scipio, that one Indibilis, with seuen thousande and fye hundred Sueshanes, was at hande, commynge to the helpe of the Carthaginenses: whose army beyng ioyned to the other, he knewe he shoulde be more straghtly enclosed. Wherefore compelled by necessity to searche the compass of his witte, he determined secretly to take the greater parte of his armye to meete with this Indibilis in the nyghte, intendinge, where so euer he mette with him, to giue him battaile, he lefte Titus Fonteus, with a certayne with him, to kepe the campe. And going on his waye about midnighte, he mette with Indibilis, and sodaynely as-

The warres betwene the
slayed him. There was a fierce conflict
for a season: And by the sodayne settinge
on them, the Romaynes had put them to
flyght wyth great slaughter, had not the
Numidian horsemen) who alwayes a-
wayted on the Romaynes wheresoeuer
they went) on both partes sodaynelye as-
sailed them: Yet Scipio so pryncelye was
in the night departed, y he had thoughte
thereby to haue begyled the Numidians
watchemen. When the battayle beyng
renued againe, Mago and Asdrubal with
theyr hostes folowynge after, were at
theyr backes: so that the Romaynes
knewe not to whiche were best to tourne
them. Scipio still comforted and exhorted
his men, and euer where the battaile
was most stronge, thither wente he lyke
a noble and valyaunte gouernour, tyll at
the laste him selfe was thruste into the
ryght syde wyth a speare, so that he fell
dead from his horse, When the Cartha-
ginenses sawe the Romayne capytayne
fall, incontinent they ranne in al the par-
tes of the fyeelde ioyfullye cryeng, Scipio
the capytayne of the Romaynes is slayne.
The same whereof gaue hearte to the
Carthaginenses, and caused the Roma-
nes

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nes to flye, but in the flyghte there were
no slayne than in the battaile. The Nu-
midian horsemen were so swerce in the
chase, and the footemen hauinge lyghte
harneys, were almoste as swyfte as the
horses. So that if the nyght hadde not
come on them, fewe or none had escaped.
The Carthaginenses after this victorie
slepte not nor stayde, but to solowre theyr
good occasion offered, incontinente tooke
theyr horses, and went to the other Wal-
druball, the sonne of Amilcar, not doub-
tinge of good speede there also. After that
both theyr powers were mette together,
there was great ioye made betwene the
Capytaynes, bothe for theyr meetynge
and also for the newes of theyr late vic-
torye.

On the other side the Romans were stricken
wyth fearefull pensiveness, not for a-
ny knowledg that they had of the losse
of theyr company, for there was such speede
made by their enemies that worde there-
of coulde not so soone be brought them,
but theyr feare was as it were throughe
an inwarde and secrete iudgemente in
theyr heartes, of some euell chaunce that
was happened vnto them. Agayne En-

The warres betwene the
Scipio, seinge the hoste of his ennemyes
encreased, by the coming of Mago and
Asdruball, maruayled howe they shoulde
conuay their army thither so soone wyth-
out battayle, onelesse his brother were
slayne. He maruayled also, that his bro-
ther, neyther did let theyr coming thither
neyther yet did appeare foloweng them.
For he knewe if he were on liue, he wold
make haste to come and ioyne his armye
vnto his. In this great trouble of minde
he thought to wythdrawe him as muche
as he myght. Wherefore in the nyghte he
was gone a good space of ground, but in
the dawning of the daie, the Numidians
were ware of theyr departinge, and fol-
lowed wyth theyr horses, so that longe be-
fore nyght they ouertoke them, assailing
them nowe on the one side, nowe on the
other, and sometime behinde theym: but
euer Scipio caused them to kepe good or-
raye, and to go euer forwarde in theyr
fghting, to be out of the daunger of the
footemen of theyr ennemyes that fol-
lowed theym: but the horsemen so bered
theym on all partes, that they could not
go farre. Wherefore Scipio gathered his
small company vpon to a litell hill, the best
that

that he could there espye for his aduan-
tage. Ther he toke this order, their stuffe
any cariage was broughte into the myd-
del of the hoste, and the horsemen sette a-
bout the same: wythout theym were the
footemen, who saued the other from the
inuasione of the Numidian horsemen, till
the reste of the Carthaginenses were
come. But than Scipio seinge him selfe
so vnable to resyst. iiii. capitaynes & theyr
great hostes, beganne to deuise, howe he
myght by any meanes take a trencher a-
bout his campe, or make some hedge to
defend them from the inuasions of theyr
ennemyes: but then was the hyl so bare,
and the ground so stonye, that no bushes
or thornes coulde there be gathered, nor
trenches digged, or any trencher made, and
the hill it selfe was so flatte, that they
could by no maner of way lette the com-
minge vpon of theyr ennemies. Than Sci-
pio to make some shewe of a defence a-
bout the campe, deuised to lay his packes
and grosse caryage in compasse of the
campe one vpon an other, and thereupon
he caused the packesaddels and other far-
dels to be tied: whereby he raised the wal-
les of his campe of a good heygth.

The warres betwene the

When the hostes of the Carthaginenses were come, they ascended that small hill wth litell payne, but then seyng that straunge kinde of fortifyenge the campe, whiche they had neuer before seene, they were amased, and stayde fo^r a season.

The capitaines perceiuing they^r sodaine stoppe and wondring, cried on all partes to them, sayeng, that it was great shame fo^r them to be so long o^r they could pluck downe and deface such a fond deuise and mockerie, wherewith children and women would not so long haue bene stayed. Go to it therfore with courage (said they) fo^r your enemies lye lurking behynde those packes. Wth these rebukes of the capitaynes, they assayed to enter on all partes. And thoughte a great while they were let and troubled thereabout; at the last in diuers partes they entred, so fewe in number could no longer endure against so manye. The campe was wonne, and many were slaine, wherof Cn. Scipio the noble captaine was one, a good number fled into the woddes, that were next vnto them, and escaped, and came into the tentes of Publius Scipio, whiche then were kepte by L. Fonteius. Thus were

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 15

were bothe the b^reth^ren and capitaynes of the Romaynes in Spaine, slaine with in the space of. xxx. dayes: whose deathe was greatly lamed both at Rome, and also in Spaine: And it was thoughte at they^r deathe, that the hole armye of the Romaynes in Spayne, was utterly brought to confusyon, and that countrey thereby broughte oute of the Romayne bandes.

L. Martius is chosen capitayne of the Roman army, he maketh an oration to his souldiours, and in one nyght and a daye vanquisheth ii. hostes of the Carthaginenses, winneth they^r campes, and a great praye. Cap. xlii.



All this peril and scoperous estate, one man was found in the army, by whose wit, courage, and fortune, the honoure and wealth of the Romaines was saued and restored. And that was Lucius Martius, y^e sonne of Septinius, a freshe yong man & an active. This Martius had long bene in the warres vnder C. Scipio, and of him had learned

The warres betwene the
learned muche experience and pollicye in
the gouernaunce of an armye. And now
seeing al thinges almost desperate, he ga-
thered together suche souldiours as by
fleing were escaped from the last battaille
and also assembled a good numbze of me-
of warre oute of diuers towne and for-
tresses, whych were vnder the obedience
of Rome. With all these he came to the
tentes of L. Fonteijs, ioyninge all the
Romaynes power together, and in short
space his name and honour was so exal-
ted, that by the hole consent of the souldi-
oures of the armye, he was chosen to be
their capitaine & guide. Whereupon he
incontinent applied hym selfe busylly to
make sure they campe, and also to make
good prouision for vitayles on all sortes.
To whose pleasure and commaundement
all the men of the host gladly obeyed: per-
uerthelesse, when they hearde, that Has-
drubal the sonne of Bisgon, was at hand
with his armye minding to destroye vi-
terlye all the Romaynes that were left:
and also, when they sawe their newe ca-
pitaine making ready his people, and a-
uauancing his standers: they then remem-
beringe they old noble Capytaynes,
and

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and y great power, wherwith they were
wont to go to all battailes, could not for-
beare to wepe and lament they mishap,
in such wise, that nother they petie capi-
taines, not yet Martius him selfe, might
appease them, yet did they sometyne re-
buke they femynyne and vnpzofytable
weepinges, sometyne styre thein to de-
fend them selues and their countrey, and
also to reuenge the death of they old no-
ble capitaynes of late slayne. While they
thus were spendinge the time vnpzofita-
bly, they ennemyes were at hande, and
redy to assaile them, & to enter into they
camps, but than the Romaynes, tour-
ninge they teares to a furious rage, in
in haste toke their armure and weapons,
and not only defended the entries of their
campe, but also issued oute fierse, and
ranne on they ennemies, whiche kepte
no verye good aray, so littell they mistrus-
ted anye suche resystance. This sodaine
issuinge oute of them caused the Cartha-
ginenses to be stricken with a feare, and
also to meruaile, howe the Romaine hoste
was so shortlye encreased, whiche so late
was almoste wholly slaine and put to vt-
terance. They mused also of their sodaine
courage

The warres betwene the
courage and hardynesse, and what newe
capitayne they myghte haue to truste on,
the two Scipios beinge slayne.
In that feare and doubt they began some
what to geue backe, and thā the Romaynes
folowed vppon theym, so that they
were constrained to flee, & in that flighte
manye of theym hadde bene slaine or
elles the folowers hadde bene putte
to greatte hurte and dyspleasure, by
theyr faste pursuete, hadde not Martius
hym selfe sounded the retreat, and halfe
agaynst theyr wylls stayed them from
the chase, and broughte them backe to
theyr tentes, beinge sylle hot, sperse,
and despyous, by slaughter to reuenge
theym on their ennemys.

The Carthaginenses fled faste for a sea-
son: but at the laste, seinge no man to fol-
lowe them, thoughte that they for feare
durst no longer pursue theym. Where-
fore they made no more suche haste, but
wente softely to their campe: and when
they were come thither, they also regar-
ded not greatlye the good watche and ke-
pinge thereof, but leste all thinges negli-
gently and vnforely nothing mistrusting
their enemies that were at hand, for that
they

they denied them to be but the remenant
and leauings of two hostes lately beaten
now being gathered together againe.
This negligence of the Carthaginenses
was knowen to Martius by espies.
Wherefore he (at the fyrste apparance) se-
med rather rashlye than boldlye to enter-
pryse the night folowynge to invade them
in theyr tentes and syde, thinkynge it
more easie for him to winne the campe of
Hastuball alone, beinge sodainely taken
and vnprouided, than he shulde be able to
desed his owne campe and syde, if he tar-
ried till the three capptaines of the Car-
thaginenses, and theyr armies, were ioyn-
ed together agayne. Neuerthelesse be-
fore he wolde sodainelye and in the night
time enterpryse so high a feate he thought
first to make his company priuy thereof,
and also make vnto theym an oracyon,
whiche he began in this wise.

The great loue that I haue euer borne
vnto oure good capitaines (lounge soul-
dours) as welles whanne they were
on lyue, as also now they are deade, and
oure presente fortune at this tyme is suf-
fyciente to perswade any man, that this
greate auctoritee and rule, which of your
goodnes,

The warres betwene the
goodnes, ye haue geuen me, is bothe
weightye and full of care and troubles.
For although my minde be sore troubled
and disquieted, that it can almoste at no
time finde anye comforte or consolacyon,
but onely whan feare dyspeth alwaye the
sorowes thereof: yet in oure doloure, I
onely am constrainned to comforte and re-
lieue you all of youre sorowes. Perther
whan I am deuising, by what meanes I
maye saue and preserve the leauynge of
the two Romaines hostes, for the wealth
of the countrey, can I at any time be quit
and ridde of my sorowes. For euen than
the two Scipios both by day & by night,
doe bere and trouble mee: sometyme in
dreames they appeare vnto me, and ma-
nye times they awake me out of my slee-
pes, commaunding me not to leaue them
nor yet they noble souldiours your com-
panions, nor the common welthe unre-
uenged. And for that intent, they wil me
to folowe the rules and discipline, that
they haue taughte me: And as (whyles
they were liuing) there was no man more
obediente to their commaundmente than
I was: so likewise, nowe they are depar-
ted, I shall alwaies be as glad to doe that
thing,

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thing which I do suppose they wold haue
done, if they were here with vs lyuinge.
And I wolde ye should not thinke it beste
(woorthy warrours) to mourne and wepe
for them, as though they were cleane
deade sence they liue perpetually thzough
the noble fame of their honozable actes:
but whansoever ye shal, going to battaile
remember any of them, I wold haue you
so valiantlye fighte, as though he saue
them settinge forth before you with ba-
ners displaied, and exhorting you to wyrt
honoure. Suche an imagination caused
you yesterday so manfully to vanquyshe
and put to flight your enemies. Where-
fore I am muche desyrus to proue, whe-
ther you, that were so hardye for youre
owne pleasure, dare nowe undertake as
much at the desyre and exhortacion of me
your capitayn?. For yesterdage, whan I
called you backe from the chase of youre
ennemyes, I dyd it not to plucke downe
your stomakes, or to quenche youre noble
courage, but onely to deferre the same to
your more and greater honoure, and also
better oportunitie: to the intent that you
being prepared therfore may assaile them
vnpurueide for the same, that you armed
maye

The warres betwene the
may take them vnarmed & a slepe. Our
enemies thinke nothing lesse, than to be
inuaied of vs in theyr campe, whome
they accompte as people besieged wythin
our owne campe, let vs now therefore
enterpryse that, which no man will thinke
that we dare enterpryse. And that shalbe
found most easie, that seemed most harde
to be compassed: I my selfe wyll bee
your guide in the dead of the nyght, and
leade you so secretely, and with suche sy-
lence, that we wil be within their campe,
er they shalbe ware of oure comminge. I
am ascertained, that they kepe no watche
nor order. Theyr campe shal we wyne at
the firste brynte. And than let me see you
make the slaughter amonge them, that
you intended yesterdage to haue made,
whan agaynst your willes I called you
backe from the pursuite of them, where
with ye were than very angry. This en-
terpryse I knowe to be verie greate and
hardye: but in suche necessitee such coun-
sels are best. For whan occasion is offred
oportunitie serueth, it muste be taken, or
els it wyll flee awaye without recovery.
One of theyr armyes is here at hande,
and two other are not to be farre hence.

Now

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Now yf we assaile this one hoste, there
may we find oportunitie and haue some
equal matche. We haue alrede yesterdage
assayed bothe your owne strengthe and
theyr: but in case we delay it, being con-
tented with yesterdaies honour, it is lea-
pardy, lest all the capitaynes, with their
powers come together: and than howe
shall we be able to susteyne the power of
the armies with their gouernors whom
Cn. Scipio, with his army was not able
to withstand: As by diuiding their hostes
our two noble capytaines were slayne:
lyke wise our enemies being diuided and
seuered, maye by vs be oppressed. Other
waye is there none for vs to take nowe,
but only to loke for y oportunitie of this
next night. Therefore in the name of the
goddess go ye now to your restes and che-
rishe your bodies, that whan I cal on you
you beyng stronge and lusty, maye enter
into the campe of your enemies, wyth
the same hertes and courage, that of late
ye defended your owne campe.

This newe counsaile of the newe capt-
taine was well hearde, and so muche the
more ioyfully receiued, by how much the
acte

The warres betwene the
acte seemed to be more bolde and hardye.
Wherfore they prepared all thinges in a
redynesse for the departure, and rested
them selues the rest of the day and a good
parte of the night. When Martius cau-
sed them to be called vp, and set them se-
cretely on the waye forward, about thre
of the clocke after midnight. When was
there an other armie of the Carthagi-
nenses seven myles beyonde the campe
of Hasdruball, the sonne of Gylgon, and
in the myddes of that waye there was a
holow valeye, and therein a litel wodde.
Into this wodde had Martius sente an
embushment of Romaine horsemen, to
receiue such as fled from the first campe,
and wolde escape to the other. And when
he deemed the saide embushmente to be
come thither, he with the rest of his com-
panye, wente to the nerte campe, where
findinge no watche nor resistance, they
entred the tentes as easily as they might
haue done in theyr owne. When sodainly
they blew vp theyr trumpettes, & made
great clamour and noise: some slew theyr
enemies sleping, some set the tentes on
fyre, many kepte the entre or gates of the
campe, that none should issue out. Thus
with

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wth sodayne noyse, fyre, and slaughter,
the other were so amased, that they wist
not what to do. They that fledde to the
gates, were there receyued of armed me-
n and slaine. When they perceiued the ga-
tes so kept, many to saue theyr liues leapt
ouer the ditches or closures of the campe,
thinkyng to flee to the nert campe of the
Carthaginenses, and they were also re-
ceyued of the Romaine embushmente
and slayne, so that none escaped. And if
anye had escaped, they coulde not haue
brought worde of the newes to the other
campe, before the Romaines came them
selues: suche speede they made to go to the
second campe, after they had so slain and
oppressed them of the fyrst fyelde. Thus
in the breake of the day, they came to the
second campe, where they found all thing-
es more vnready, then in the fyrst, some
were gone forth for wood, some on forra-
ging, some for vitayles, manye walked
vp and downe before the gate of the campe
vnarmed, manye were layde downe to
take theyr rest: the Romaines, being yet
fyerce of theyr late victorie, slew fyrste
suche as made resistance at the entre of
the campe, and after they entred and

The warres betwene the
made great slaughter. With this greates
noise, many arose and armed them, and
came to the defence of theyr felde, and
thereby the battaile for a season was cru-
ell and strong: but as soone as they per-
ceyued the freshe bloud on the Romaines
shildes, whiche was a signe of the deat)
of theyr compaigne, they were stryken
that they fledde as many as myght sun-
dry wayes, so that nyght and mornynge
Marius vanquished .ii. of the hostes of
the Carthaginenses, and slew .xxxviii. m.
men, and one thousande and eyght hun-
dred were taken. He wanne also theyr
tentres, wherein was a riche pray. Amog
other thinges there he found a helmet of
silver, wayeng .C. xxxviii. unces, & there-
upon was grauen the ymage of Haldru-
ball, the sonne of Amilcar: whych helmet
was sent to the senate of Rome and kept
long after in the Capitoll, for an hono-
rable monumente or remembraunce of
the victorie of Marius. And after his
time it was called Marius helmet, unto
the tyme of the burning of the capitolye.
After these gret harmes and losses, both
gyuen and taken on both partes, they
ceased warring for a while in Spayne,
neither

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neither party beinge hasty to put all in
leopardye, till they were sure of moze so-
lours.

Howe Haldruball being enclosed in the streytes,
besyde Mentissa, escaped the danger thereof,
by mockyng his ennemyes, and of the cho-
sing of yonge P. Cornelius Sci-
pio, to be capytayne in
Spayne. Ca. xliii

After the subduinge of Capua,
Appius Claudius Nero, the
Consull, wyth an army of .xii.
thousand footemen, and .xi. C.
horsemen, was sent into Spayne: where
receyving also the hoste that was before
with Marius and Fonteius, he tooke
the way toward Haldruball the sonne of
Amilcar, that laye with his armye at a
place called the blacke stone, betwene the
towne of Alliturgus & Mentissa, whych
was a place so enclosed, that there was
no way to issue out, but at certayne strey-
tes, which strestes Claudius Nero at his
synne comminge, caused to be well and
stronglye kepte, that the other should by
no waye escape, but at his pleasure.

Hasdruball perceyuing him selfe to be enclosed on all partes, fearynge his escape from thence, sent incontinent an harrold to the consull, wyth faithfull promysse, that in case he would suffre him and his company to departe oute of that straytes wythoute further battaile or trouble, he would be contented forthwyth to depart out of Spayne, with al the army of Carthage, and leaue the countrey wholye to the Romans. This his large offer pero gladly receyued, and the next day folowing was appointed for a communication to be had betwene them, of the conditiōs of deliuering of the castels and fortresses whyche they had in possession, and what day should be appoynted for the Carthaginenses garrisons to depart wyth their baggage, without gyle or fraude, fro the sayd castels and to wnes, and the other to be receyued in theyr places. When they were agreed on this communication, all the same nyght Hasdruball caused many of his hoste, with all his grosse and heavy cariage, to be sente forth by the sayte streyghtes, beinge then not so straytelpe kepte and watched. Euer foreseing, that there shoulde not ouer manye departe at

ones

ones that night, to thentent the smalnes of the numbre, by makinge small noyse, myght with theyr silence deceyue his enemies, and also the better to escape the narrow and vneasy waies of the streight passages.

The day folowing the consull and he had longe communication, and bookes were written of thinges of small impoꝛtaunce til it drew toward night: and then they agreed to meete the next morning, to synishe their deuises. This night also Hasdruball bestowed, in sending forth many mo of his hoste, and moze of his carpage then he did the nyghte before. The next meeting also, was in like maner in vain the time wasted & spente in deuises of couenauntes: and euer in the night he sent of his footemen & stufte out of daunger. Thus in reasoning and debating, diuers dayes were employed, till all his footemen and carpage were escaped. And when a great parte of his hoste was by this illusion escaped, then began Hasdruball more to stay, & be stiffe in the agreeing of couenauntes, in so muche that he began to dissent fro diuers articles, wherunto he had before assented. For as hys

fears

The warres betwene the
his feare was lesſed, his fayth alſo decrea-
ſed. The nexte morninge there appeared
a great and darke miſſe vpon the ground
as well on the hilles as on the vales,
which ſerued wel Haſdrubal for his pur-
poſe. For he, thinkinge then his good
hours to be come, ſent to Piero the conſul
aduertiſing him, that the ſame day was
and euer had bene kept his, holy, and ſa-
cred among the Carthaginenſes: ſo that
to the ſame it was not laſnefull for hym
to trauaile about any buſineſſe. Where-
fore he deſired the communication to be
deferred tyll the daye folowynge. The
Conſull yet thinkinge no fraude or de-
ceyte to be in the meſſage, agreed there-
unto. And then Haſdruball wyth ſpede,
iſſued oute of the ſtrayte wyth the reſte of
his hoſt, horſemen & elephantes, wyth as
ſmal noiſe as he could make, & was paſ-
ſed all daunger, before the daye wared
cleare. But when the ſon beganne to ap-
peare, then Piero perceyuing the campe,
of the Carthaginenſes to be voyde, and
knowing manifeſtly of their departure,
wyth their vntruth & his mocke & illuſion
he made as much ſpede as he could to ſo-
lowe his enemies, wyth a ſeruent deſyre
to

to fyght, if he might ouertake them.

But they were in ſafegarde, ere he might
attaine vnto theym, without anye thinge
doing, oneleſſe it were ſmall ſkirmyſhes
betwene the tayle of the hoſte of the Car-
thaginenſes and the lighte ſorteyders of
the Romayne armye.

The ende of the yere drewe nere, and the
time of choſynge of officers began to ap-
proche, at whiche election Marcus Mar-
cellus, and Marcus Valerius Leuinus,
were choſen conſulles. Then the ſenate
of Rome, wyth no leſſe diligence delibe-
red of the affayres of Spayne, then they
didde of the eſtate of Italye, for the ſauc-
garde whercof, they determined to aug-
ment the army, that was there wyth Pe-
ro the conſull, and to ſende alſo wyth the
ſame a newe capitaine, whom they cal-
led a proconſull. But al they doubt was
whom they ſhould aſſigne to that office,
to ſuccede in the place of two ſo noble ca-
pitaynes, as were of late there ſlayne, in
the ſpace of, xxx. dayes: The day was ap-
poynted for the commune election of this
capitaine, by voyce of the ſenatours and
alſo of the communes. Some looked,
when manye valyaunt men would haue
offered

The warres betwene the
offred them selues thereto for the wealth
of theyr countrey: But none was founde
amonge theym, that would enterpryse to
take on hande that great and peryllous
charge. The citezens by great assemblies
met at the daye and place appoynted for
the nomination. At whiche daye the no-
ble men looked one vpon an other, as peo-
ple amased and destitute of counsaile in
such perplexitee, lamentinge the sore de-
caie of the state of the citee.

When none could be found amonge the
woorthye for that roine or office, then so-
daynely yonge P. Cornelius Scipio, the
sonne of him that was before slayne in
Spaine, being then but xiiii. yerres olde,
stode vp in a highe place, where all men
might wel se and beholde him, & desired
that the same office might be geuen vnto
him. When he had declared his minde,
anone the hole multitude of all estates,
gaue to him theyr consentinge, cryenge:
Luckye be his empyre in Spaine.

Soone after this sodayne election a so-
daine silence was among the multitude,
and then all men began secretely wyth
theym selues to consider their haste in
their nomination, maruayllyng and also
foze

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for thinking that they had moze fauoured
the person throughe affection, then they
did consyder hys youthe by their reason,
many mislyked the fortune that had hap-
ped to his stocke and famylie in the same
countrey before, and some were sorre to
send one of the same kin and name, to go-
uerne the countrey, where his father and
vnckle were slaine and laye buryed.

When yong Scipio perceiued theyr si-
lence, and repentaunce of theyr hastie e-
lection, he desyzed theim a littell to geue
him audyence. And there he made theim
such an oracion, in the excuse of hys age,
and concerninge the rule and affayres to
him committed, with suche an herte and
courage, that he not onely enflamed their
hertes with moze ardente desire and loue
towards him, but also he fulfilled theim
with a certayne hope of prosperous suc-
cesse in his empyre. For the yonge man,
beside many his marueillous vertues and
good qualities, wherewith he was natu-
rally indowed, he had also from his infan-
cie a wonderfull conninge or gifte in the
noble auaucing and setting forth of the
same. Sometime amonge the commune
people he wold shew certaine dreames or
visions,

visions, that he had in the night: sometime he woulde declare vnto them thynges that he was commanded inwardly by the goddes to execute. These & suche like his straunge wordes, with the manner and facion of liuing after he was fyrste put in auctoritee, shewed suche a magnificence in him, that the commune people bothe had an opinon, and also publyshed the same, that Scipio was descended of the stocke or kyndred of the gods. Inuentinge a like fable of his conception to be by the sede of a serpente or snake, as heretofore hath ben fayned of great Alexander: affirminge, that the similitude of the same hath bene diuers tymes seen in his mothers chamber: but so sone as any mā entered hir said chamber, it did sodainly glide and vanish away. This fained inuencion of hys conception, and the superstitious myndes of the people towarde hym, he woulde nother affyrme to be true, nother saye they were false and vntrewe: but couertlye lefte them to dwel still in theyr owne opinions: wherby all men had such an admyracion of hym, that they suffered him to enioy that greate reuine, that els was ful bannete for that his yong age

The

The armie, that should be vnder him in Spayne, was increased. x. thousand fote-men, and one. M. horsemen: and. M. Julius Sullanus was appoynted to helpe him in al his busy affayres of charge.

With this newe armie and a nauye of thirty shippes, he departed out of Italie, makinge greate speede, tyll he arriued in Spaine: where he gathered together all the power that remayned there before, and so soberly handled him selfe to al mē, that in his wordes they iudged to be both a royall maiestee, and a stedfast saythfulness. He praysed muche the souldyours, whiche he found there, fyrste for that notwithstanding their. ii. great losses of men and capitains, yet they kept still that cuntry, defendinge manfully theyr frendes and many their cities of the same: and also that they suffered not their enemies to enioy the prosperous fortune, whiche by the losse of the Romains was ones geue theym. Thysdye, for that they had dyuen theyr enemies to forsake their abode on this side the water of Iberus. But aboue all other, he had Lucius Martius in great honoz and veneration. And anon after his comyng: he bestowed his new

The warres betwene the
men of warre, to places where they shuld
remaine for the winter season, and he him
selfe, after all thinges were ordynatelye
disposed, went to Tarracon.

The fame of Scipio was no lesse among
his ennemyes, than it was amonge his
freendes. They also had a certayne feare of
him, coniecturinge, as it were by secrete
divinacion, the likely successe of thynges
that were to ensue. They feared him be-
foze they had cause, and they feared hym
the more, by how much the cause or rea-
son of theyr feare was bid & unknowne.
And in this perplexitee of mind, they de-
parted theyr armies, and went to dyuers
partes for the winter season.

Hasdruball the sonne of Gisgon, went to
the sea, towarde the pillars of Hercules:
Mago kepte the myddell of the cuntrey,
and Hasdrubal the sonne of Amilcar, lay
nighe the ryuer of Iberus, not farre from
Sagunt.

✠ The oracion of Scipio to his souldi-
ours in Spayne, after his coming
thither. Cap. 44.



In the spring of the yere M.
Scipio commaunded al his
thynnes, furnished wyth
men vitayles & munimen-
tes of warre, to meete him
at the mouth of the river of
Iberus: where he with the rest of his host
comminge by lande from Tarracon, met
them. And there thinking it necessary to
him, to declare his mynde to the old soul-
dours that were left in Spayne, after
the laste greate losse and slaughter of the
Romaynes, he called them together, and
made his oracion as hereafter foloweth.

There was neuer new capitaine before
me, that had cause to geue thanks vnto
his souldours, before he had tried theyr
hardines and diligēce in batayle: but for
tune hath bounde me vnto you (lounge
sondours), before I knew this cuntrey,
or saw the place of our campe. First for
the loue and obedience that ye have borne
to my father and mine vncle both quicke
and deade: secundarily for that, when the
hole cuntrey was as losse, by reason of
the greate distruction of our people: yet
you by your noble vertue & mighte, have
obtained the possessiō of the same againe,
both

The warres betwene the
bothe to the Romaynes, and also to me
theyr deputye here, and successoure to
my sayd father and vncle. But now, sens
through the fauoure of the goddes we in-
tende to worke, not that we may dwel in
Spayne styll oure selues, but that the
Carthaginenses shal haue no dwellinge
here: Nother only to restraine them, that
they shal not come on this side the ban-
kes of the water of Iberus, but that we
intend to passe the same floode with oure
army, to geue them battaile. I feare, lest
it shalbe thoughte by you, that thys my
counsayle is moze hardye (and spoken af-
ter myne age) than wyse, considering the
late losse that we haue had here, whereby
the tyme shoulde not serue vs to vnder-
take suche greate enterpryses. There is
no man hathe moze cause than I, to re-
member our euill fortune in battaile in
Spaine, who hathe had bothe my father
& mine vncle slaine here, within the space
of .xxx. dayes, as ye wolde saye, to make
here a heape of corps of oure familye one
vpon another. Neuerthelesse, as the losse
and lacke of frendes is displeasent to the
mynde of men, euen so doth fortune and
noble vertuose courage forbid a man, in
suche

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suche case to dyspayre, specially sens tho-
rough the fatall fortune oure chaunce hathe
heretofore bene, that after we haue bene
beaten & susseynded great losses in the be-
ginninge, yet at the laste we haue euer o-
uercome oure ennemies, that before sup-
pressed vs. I wil not reherse the old histo-
ries of oure warres with Porfena, wyth
the Frenchmen, and with the Samnites
I wyll onely remember the warres with
these our ennemyes the Carthaginenses
how many nauies of shippes, how many
capitaines, and howe many armyes losse
we in the firste battayles, that we hadde
with them, befoze the time of this Annib-
ball: And now in hys tyme at Trabia, at
Trasimenus, & at Cannas, what other
thinges dyd appere, other than hole ar-
mies with theyr capptaynes & Romayne
Consuls slayne: furthermore, how great
a part of Italy, of Sardinia, and Sicillia
haue forsaken the Romaynes, to folowe
the amitee of Anniball: and howe nigh
the citee of Rome pitched he his campe:
ye he hym selfe was sene almoste to ryde
harde to the gates of Rome. In all the
tyme of his great ruyne & harde fortune,
the heartes, the vertue and courage of
the

The warres betwene the
of the Romayns remained still stedfaste,
hole, and vnmouable, whereby they haue
bene euer susteyned and set vp againe.
After the cruel battaile at Cannas, Has-
druball, with a greate army was goynge
ouer the mountaines into Italy, to helpe
his brother Anniball, and to ioyne theyr
powers together: whiche if he had done,
accordynge to his intente, there hadde by
this day bene almost no memory or name
of the Romayns left. But than ye hardy
souldiours, by the gouernaunce of my fa-
ther, withstode theim, and by youre good
fortune so wel sped there, that therby the
euel chaunces, whiche befoze hapned vs,
were wel releued, and now, throughe the
goodnes of the goddes are daylye more
ioyefull and prosperous. In Sicilia the
greate cities of Syracusa and Agrigen-
tum, be wonne agayne, and the hole Ile
broughte vnto the obedyence of the Ro-
maynes, and our enemies clene expelled.
In Italy Capua is taken, and the Arpi-
nes brought agayne vnder the subiection
of Rome. And Anniball in greate feare
fleyng from Rome, is nowe dryuen into
an angle of the countrey of the Brutians
where the daylye prayer that he maketh
to

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to the goddes aboue al thinges is, that he
may safe and sound escape without daun-
ger out of the countrey of his enemies.
Wherefore fryndes, there is nothyng
more vnnete, or more contrary to reason
then that you, who haue in all aduersitye
and lowe ebbe, when the goddes were
them selues almost on Annibals partye,
and yet by the guiding of my father and
frendes, haue susteyned and borne by the
estate of the Romaynes: that ye nowe,
when all thinges are merke and prosper-
ous, should shrinke or suffer your hartes
to faile you. Nowe the immortal goddes
the gouernours of the Romayne empire
who willed the people of Rome, by one
assent to electe me vnto this great office
and dignitee, the same goddes by sundry
presages, signes & dreames in the nighte
haue shewed me, that all thinges hereaf-
ter shall haue prosperous successe. And
that I mosse at this time do regarde
my heart geueth me, that ere it be longe,
all Spayne shall be ours, so that as ma-
ny as beare the name of a Carthaginense,
shall be gladd for feare to flee hens, both
by land and by sea. And reason also geueth
that the same whyche in my heart is con-
ceyued

Z. i.

The warres betwene the
 ceuyed must nedes be trewe. For diuers
 of theyr friendes, whiche haue by theym
 bene euell entreated, haue of late sent am-
 bassadours to vs for succours. Agayne,
 there be of them thre capitaines, whiche
 can not agree among them selues. For
 whych cause they haue deuyded theyr ar-
 mye in thre partes, and are departed
 farre a sunder. Wherefore the same for-
 tune that scourged and destroyed vs, doth
 nowe come on them. For theyr felowes
 and frendes, in whome they truste be
 gone from theym, euen as the people cal-
 led Celtiberi, departed and forsoke you,
 when ye had mosse nede of theym. They
 also haue deuyded and seuered theyr ho-
 stes, whych was the cause of the destruc-
 tion, bothe of my father and of mine un-
 cle. This disorde will not suffer them to
 ioyne together agayne. And be ye sure,
 no one army of them by it selfe is able to
 withstande you. Wherefore I most har-
 telye pray you good souldiours, loue and
 fauour nowe the name of the Scipions,
 which am I, the sonne of your olde cap-
 taine Scipio, an impe growen out (as ye
 would saye) of a stocke that is cut downe
 by the ground. And ye olde knyghtes so
 worke

worke, that ye may bring me a ponge ca-
 pitayne, with a newe armye ouer Abe-
 rus, into the countrey, whych ye haue
 passed after manye great actes and pro-
 wes shewed: and I doubt not shortly to
 bring to passe, that as ye nowe knowe in
 me to be a similitude or resemblaunce of
 my father, and vncle, by my face, counte-
 nance, and features of my body, euen so
 shall ye see in me also an example of their
 wit, faith, and vertue: in suche wise that
 euerye one of you shall see, Scipio our
 olde capitaine is aliue againe.

The citie of newe Carthage in Spayne is
 wonne by the Romaynes, wyth a great pray
 of gold & silver, and al other necessaryes for
 the warre, wyth the pledges of the no-
 ble men and cityes of Spayne.

Capitu. xlv.

When he had by these exhortary-
 ons keneled the heartes of his
 me, he lefte behynd him to kepe
 that countrey M. Silanus with
 thret thousande footemen, and thre hun-
 dred horsemen: with the rest of his army which
 was

The warres betwene the
was .xxv. thousand footmen, and .ii. M.
and .v. C. horsemen, he passed the ryuer
of Iberus. When he was passed ouer,
many counsayled him, seinge the armye
of the Carthaginenses was deuyded in
to thre partes, that he should assaile that
host of them, whych was next vnto him,
sayeng. It was perill if they were ioyned
together, least he should not be able to re-
siste them: but he had ymagined in his
minde, that he would fyrst assaile Car-
thago Noua, which was then not oneye
ryche of the richesse of the inhabitantes
of the same, but also ryche by meanes of
the Carthaginenses, who had layd there
theyr treasure, armour, with other appa-
rell for the warre. There remayned also
in that citee, all the pledges of noble men
and citees of Spayne. Besides this, the
citee was situate vpon the se, from whēse
it was easye to passe ouer into Affrica.

The hauen also thereof was able to re-
ceyue easelye the greatest nauye of anye
prynce.

Of this his purpose no man was pryue,
but onely C. Helius, gouernoure of the
shippes and armye by the sea, to whom
he commaunded so to tempze his course
wyth

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wyth his shippes, that his armie by land
and the other by sea, might both sodaine-
ly appeare at Carthage in one tyme.

Which his charge was duely put in ere-
cution. For the seventh daye after theyr
departynge from Iberus they mette at
newe Carthage, where incontinente the
campe was made, and tentes pytched on
the North side of the citee.

C. Polve is the syte or situation of Car-
thage on this maner: In the middell of
Spayne, there is a greate bolome or
goulfe, into the whych the sea hath hys
full course, wythin the land the length of
foure hundred paces, and the breadthe of
the sea in the same place, is muche of the
same quantite. In the inner parte or
furthest ende of this goulfe, is a hylle, on
whych the citee is buylded: and it is on
two partes, that is to saye, on the East
syde, and on the south syde, enclosed with
the sea, whych from the sayde goulfe or
bolome, renneth into the land by the one
syde of the citee. Upon the west side, it is
defended with a greate and brode poole,
that renneth by also a good parte of the
North side of the towne: The drepenesse
of

of the poole is at no certayntee: For as the sea doth aryse on heyght & ebbe lowe so is the water thereof deepe or shallowe. Thus is the sayde citee on all partes environed with water, as it were an yland oneles it be on a parte of the northesyde: and the mayne lande there, passeth not two hundred and fiftye paces in breadth. Wherefore scens the grounde there was no broder, Scipio intended not to make trêches on that parte, for that he thought him selfe stronge ynough to kepe that lytell peere of ground from his ennemyes: and also to thintente he myghte at all tymes haue recourse to vieue the walles, and strength of the towne.

When Scipio had ordered all thynges ordynately vpon the land for the assaulte, he then wente to the hauen, where he in like maner ordered his shippes and hye men, that it might appeare to the citees that they shoulde be assaulted, as well by water as by lande: he also commaunded watche to be kept vpon the water in the nyght season in euery shippe. And after al thynges were prudently appoynted, he returned to his campe, willinge before
he

he did any thing, touchinge the assaulte, to instructe and admonysh his people of his minde, concernyng the same, and to comforte theim in that enterpryse, he called them together and made his oration to them in this wise.

Who so euer beleueth (good souldiours) that ye are now broughte hyther onelye to assaulte and winne this one towne, he doth moze consider your labour and pain therein, than the profyte that shall ensue thereof. True it is, that ye shall assaulte and skale the walles but of one onelye towne: but in the obtaynyng of this one ye also shall winne the hole countrey of Spayne. For in this towne are the pledges of al the noble men, kinges and people of Spayne, who beinge ones taken, full shortly shall cause all that euer the Carthaginenses do now possede, to be yelded vnto vs, and to be vnder our dominion. Here also is all the money and treasure of our enemies: whiche beyng taken from thẽ, they shal be able no longer to mainteyn the warres, seing they haue many hired straungers in theyr armye. And the same treasure shall meruailously
profyte

The warres betwene the
profyte vs, thereby to winne the heartes
and loue of these barbarous people. Besyde this, here remayneth theyr ordinaunce
their armure, and all abilementes necessarye
for the warre: whiche beinge ones
wonne, shall serue well our purpose, and
thereof make our enemies bare, to their
utter destruction. Furthermore, we shall
be lordes of a fayre & a ryche citee, where
vnto lyeth a goodlye haven, whereby we
shall be serued both by sea and by land, of
all thinges that we shall at anye tyme
lacke. The hauinge of these thinges shall
not onely be pleasaunt and profitable vnto
vs, but also the lacke of the same, shall
be a muche greater hindzaunce and losse
to our enemies. For this citee hath bene
and is theyr greatest strengthe. Here be
theyr store houses for coyne, here is theyr
treasurie, here is theyr armorye, & theyr
houses stuffed with all thinges necessarye
for their shippes of warre: generally this
citee is the onely receptacle of all that
they haue. Wyther lyeth the ryght course
by sea, from Affrica to Spaine. And now
sens I perceyue ye be sufficiently instructed,
and haue all thinges in good order
meete for the purpose, let vs with good
hartes,

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hertes, and all oure strength, make haste
to the assaulding of this new Carthage.
Therewithall, euerye man with louds
voice assented thereto. And he, not thin-
kinge to be slacke in hys busynes, wente
forth toward Carthage, causinge it to be
assaulted both by water and by lande.
On the other side, Dago capitaine of the
Carthaginians, perceyuinge that the
assault was ordeined to be geuen both by
sea and land, he disposed his men within
the towne on this maner: Two. M. of the
townesmen he caused to be armed and
put in araye on that parte of the towne,
that the Romaine tentes or campe was,
siue. M. men he appointed to kepe the ca-
stell & other. v. C. he assigned to remayne
vpon a hille, that was within the citee
toward the east: The rest of the people he
commaunded to be redy to helpe and suc-
cure their companyes, in what place of
the towne so euer they sawe mosse nede to
resist. And whan so euer they herde anye
crie made in any parte, throughe the vio-
lent force of the assaulding: than sodaine-
lye the gate was open, whereat he caused
the. ii. M. souldiours of the towne to issue
vpon the Romaines, at whose firste
com-

The warres betwene the
Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 176
comminge, Scipio caused his men to re-
tule backe, to thintent he mighte drawe
them further from the towne, and more
were the reste of the Romaine armye. At
the fyrst the battayle was stiffe, and well
mainteined on both parts, but when the
Carthaginenses perceiued so great a nu-
ber comming from the tentes of the Ro-
maines, to the succoure of theyr felowes,
they fled with great feare towarde theyr
citee, and were chased and slayne hard at
theyr gates: whiche caused no lesse trem-
bling to be in the citee, thā was before in
the battayle. In so much that diuers pla-
ces of the walles were leste bare and na-
ked, without men to defende the same, e-
uery man lept from his appointed place,
so greate and sodayne was theyr feare.
This perceiued well Scipion, standinge
on an hil without the towne. Wherefore
he commaunded his souldyours, to come
out of theyr tentes speedily, to the assaute
of the towne, and to brynge wyth theym
scalyng ladders. His commaundemente
was fulfilled. The fight was stronge on
bothe partes. And to encourage the
more his people, Scipio hym selfe came
thither, vnder the couerte of theyr helmes
and

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and pauesses, to withstande the shot that
came from the walle, of arrowes dartes
and other ingynnes, whiche was greate.
There he sometyme exhorted and coun-
forted his men: sometime he counsayled
them, what was best for them to doe, for
the attaynyng of theyr purpose. This his
presence was a wytnesse, bothe of mens
balliant courage, and also of theyr cowar-
dise, whereby euery man enforced hym
selfe to clymme vp, neyther regardyng
the heighte of the walles, nor fearyng
the men of armes, that fier selfe defended
the walles. On y other syde of the towne
lyke assaunt was giuen from the shippes,
by that part that laye towarde the wa-
ter: But also to small purpose. For
Mago had so furnyshed the walles wyth
armed men, euer bryngyng them plēty of
dartes & other ordinaunces, that the Ro-
mans lost more thā they won. And aboue
al thinges, the sauinge of the towne was
the height of the walles, wherby fewe of
theyr ladders were able to reche to the
toppe of the same, and those ladders that
were longest, were therto most weake: so
that whan one was ascended vp on anye
of them, other wold also clyme after him
theron,

The warres betwene the
Theron, and so with heavy burden beyng
loded, many of them brake, to the greate
hurte of the climbers. Whereupon Scipio,
considering his vaine labours, caused his
wey company to withdrawe them, and
to rest them: wherby the Carthaginenses
were not only eased and releued of theyr
present feare and daunger, but also there
by toke a hardy courage and opinio, that
the citee was out of al daunger of taking
by any assaute, and that they were strong
enough to defend it, till their other cap-
taynes of the Carthaginenses armyes
might haue time enough to come to their
rescous, and to reise their siege. It drewe
then toward the middel of the day, when
certayne fishermen of Tarracon, that
had ben fishyng in theyr botes on the said
greate and large poole, that laye on the
northweste parte of the towne certified
Scipio, that the water thereof was than
at a verye lowe ebbe, and also the north-
wind, being very quicke, and draving the
waues with the tide, caused a lower vale
than had lightlve bene seen, so that men
might wel wade over to the walles of the
citee, the water being in most places not
paste the middell of a man, and in some
partes

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partes not past the knees. This strange
fortune of that vnseen lowe ebbe of the
water, Scipio tourned to a miracle, say-
ing: It was the wyll and pleasure of the
goddess, to withdrawe at that tyme the
water from that great poole, to make for
the Romaines a passage, & to open the way
awaye, by whiche neuer man before had
passed. With these stronge persuations,
he caused the rest of his armie, which had
rested them in their tentes, duringe the
time of the firste assaute, to take ladders
and engins, and to geue a new assaute in
the same place, where they were before
beaten backe. Where began a fierse and
acruell bickerynge. Neuerthelesse the
height of the walles was so benefyciall
to the citizens, that were they neuer so
baliante and hardy, yet by could they not
get: but were ouerthrowen with smalle
peine to the townes men.

While they were busie and attentife to
defend the Citee, as well there as on the
sea coste, Scipio, with a good number of
stronge men, secretlye withdrewe hym to
the saide ponde: where he had his compa-
nye folow the god Neptuneus, that shuld
be theyr guides on their way thzough that
halow

The warres betwene the
shalowe water. Wherupon they with
final labour wente ouer, and set vp lad-
ders to the walles, which they founde easy
to be scaled, and not kepte with any men
of warre. For that they hauinge a sure
hope in the natural strength on that part
by reason of the water, had made no mu-
nimentes or defence: nor yet lesse any
watch there: euerye man was gone to the
defence of the other partes, in the whiche
the assault seemed most fierse & dangerous,
so that without any resistance they entred
the towne, and incontinent made hast to
come to the gate, where the battaile was
most busy & strong. To whiche whā they
were come, they found al the townsmē so
earnest in their defence, or in cōforting their
felowes, that they neither herd nor sawe
the Romaynes til they perceiued them at
their backes, throwning of dartes, & sling
them on all partes, nother tyll that tyme
knew they y towne to be won. Whā anon
were y gates broke downe, & a great nū-
ber of armed mē entred at the gate, many
had by that tyme gotten in ouer the wal-
les, some wēt incontīnēt aboute the towne
sleyng all that they met: another compa-
nye wente in araye to the market place
through

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 178
throughe the myddell of the Citee. Whā
perceiued they theyr ennemyes fleyng,
some to the hill within the towne, that
was kepte with. v. M. men of war. Mago
with a greate nōumber with him fled to
the castel. When Scipio sent parte of his
host to the sayde hyll, whych anone was
wonne, and the people slaine or els taken.
The rest went to assault the castel, which
Mago a season valiantly defended: but
sleyng all the towne ful of his ennemies,
and that he was not like to haue any suc-
cour: he yelded by hym selfe with the ca-
stell to the Romaynes. When ceased they
to make any further slaughter in the ci-
tee, Euerye man wente to the spoyle of
the towne, the praye wherof was greate,
as welles of golde and silver as of cōdy-
nauce, aryllarye, coone, shypes, yron,
laten and manye other thinges mete for
the apparell of shypes: the certaintee
whereof I will not reherse, for y wryters
hary much therein. There was alle. x. M.
prisoners take, wherof as many as were
citezens Scipio let go at libertee, and suf-
fered to dwell still in the towne, and to en-
ioy as muche of theyr goodes as was not
before spoyled. Amonge other pyloners
there

The warres betwene the
there were. ii. M. of craftes men, whiche
he caused to be bonde men to worke for
the common profite of the citee of Rome,
putting them in comfort, that they shuld
within shorte space bee made all free, yf
they wolde laboure and worke earnestlye
aboute suche necessaries, as they shoulde
have neede of in the warre. A greate num-
ber of the rest, that were seruantes and
lusty yonge men, he sente to be rowers in
his shippes and galeys in the places of
suche as lacked. And he also encreased his
naue of eight shippes wel furnished. Besi-
des all these prisoners he hadde also the
pledges of noble men & cities, to a greate
nourber: whom he caused to be wel kept
and gentlye encreated. The reste of that
daye Scipio gaue licence to his wyerpe
men to reste them selues. For there were
fewe, but they had all the daye before ben
soze trouayled with fighting in one place
or other. The custodie of the towne he
gaue to Cn. Leuius and his compaigne of
see men, and him selfe went to his tentes

¶ Of the gentleness of Scipio, in restoringe a
lusty yonge virgin vndeuyled to Luceius,
vnto whome she was spawnced.
Cap. xlii.

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¶ Of the gentleness of Scipio, in restoringe a
lusty yonge virgin vndeuyled to Luceius
vnto whome she was spawnced.
Cap. xlii.



¶ The morowe he assembled
all his hoste together, and
first he gaue humble thākes
and prayse to the gods, that
had geuen in to his handes
in one day so great, so noble, and so ryche
a citee, the like whereof was not to be
found in Spayne. Into whiche his enne-
mies had gathered together the treasure
both of Affrica & also of Spayne, in suche
abundance, that there was but litell or
nothing left for them: the Romaynes ha-
uing great plenty of all thinges. Next he
much praysed the noble courage and va-
liauntnes of his men of warre, whome
neyther the sodayne excursation of theyr
enemies out of the towne, neyther the
high walles or waters of the same, could
make affrayte or let theym of theyr enter-
pryse: neyther yet theyr castels & stronge
towers, could resist theyr powers. Aboue
other, he praysed much twayne that first
scaled the walles, and entred the towne.

to eche of them he gaue a crowne of good
value: his other souldiours he rewarded
euery man after his vertue and merites:
but specially Cn. Lelius the gouernoure
of the nauye, he praised and much loued,
to whom he gaue for a rewardea crown,
of golde, and .xxx. oren.

Thē caused he the pledges to be brought
before him, willinge them to be of good
comforte, and that they should consyder,
that they were now in the power of the
Romaines, whose naturall property and
desire is, to bynde men through theyr be-
nefites shewing, to loue theym, rather
than by compulsion to kepe men in feare
of them. And had rather to ioine strange
nations in amitie with them by faithfull
fellowship, then sorrowfully to kepe the
in miserable seruitude. When he toke the
names of the cities, that had theyr pled-
ges there, and to the ambassadours that
by chaunce were with him present of any
of the sayd cities, he incontinente deliuer-
ed the pledges vnto them: to the other ci-
ties he sent messangers, willing them to
send vnto him for them, and they should
haue theyr pledges frely deliuered. Ther
were also taken many noble mat^rnes,
and

honest maydens, whom he committed to
sobyre and honest men to be kept, without
any force or dishonoure to be done vnto
them: amonge other captiues there was
one virgin brought vnto him, of so excel-
lent beautie, that wheresoeuer she wente
all men delited to behold her. Scipio en-
quired of her, of what countrey she was,
and of what kindred she was descended, &
he perceiued by her, that she was betrou-
thed or made sure to a yonge prince of the
Celtiberians, whose name was Lucius.
Whereupon he incontinent sente for the
sayd yong man, and also for her parents.
At whose coming, knowing y the yonge
man was sore enamored of her, he thus
sayd vnto him: I being a yong man haue
sent for you that are also a yonge man, to
come to me, the cause is for that whē this
yong maiden, being fianced or ensured to
you, was brought to me, by my souldiours
I herd say, that you entierly loued her.
And her beautie witnesseth, y you haue
good cause so to do. If I might lawfully
enioye her pleasaunte loue, and were not
otherwise occupied in my mind about the
affaires of the common wealth, I coulde
perchaunce beare her my loue, and
desyre

The warres betwene the
desire to enioye the the same: but now we
will beare fauoure to your loue, that of
ryght ought to haue her. She hath bene
here with me as well and honourably
kept, & her virginity preserved as though
she had dwelled still with her owne pa-
rentes, to thintent I mighte make of her
a present to you most acceptable, & for the
conseruatiō of mine honour. And for this
my gift, I require of you but one onely
rewarde, that is, that you shōd henceforth
become a louing frēde to the Romaines.
And if ye esteeme me to be a good or an ho-
norable man, as my father & vncle before
me were reputed for to be: thinke y^e there
are in the noble citee of Rome many like
vnto vs. And trust me neuer, if anye peo-
ple can this daye be founde on the earth,
that you will be gladder to haue the loue
& frendeship of, or that ye would be more
sore to haue the displeasure of. The yong
man, after greate thanks geuen him,
prayed the goddes to rewarde him for his
goodnes, where his power, suffised not.
Then were the parentes of the mayden
called forth, who had brought with them
a great summe of golde for the redemption
on of their child. But when they percei-
ued

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ned that he had geuen her frelye to her
husband, they desyred him to take a parte
thereof, as of they^r gyfte, for the declara-
tion of they^r good heartes towards him:
affyrminge, that his receyuinge thereof
should be as tofull vnto them, as the re-
stitution of they^r daughter vndefiled.

¶ Then Scipio, beinge overcome with
their long and belement intercessiō, cau-
sed the sayde summe to be layde on the
ground before his feete, and callinge Au-
relius agayne to him, he sayd. Beside the
dowrye that ye shal receiue of your father
in lawe, for the maryage of his daughter
ye shal also take this gift at my hande.

¶ With whyche his great gyfte, and also
muche honour done to him besyde, he re-
turned home to his house and countrey,
declaring to euery man the honoure and
magnificēce of Scipio, sayeng, that there
was a yong man come moste lyke vnto a
god, who both with his power in warre
and also with his gentlenes and liberali-
tie in peace, had overcome all the coun-
treys. This yonge gentleman leauing his
house and familie in good ordre, shortlye
after returned to Scipio, bringing with
him a. p. cccc. good horsemen, to
A. a. iii. the

The warres betwene the
to the ayde and succour of the Romains.
Then Scipio sent C. Lelius to Rome, to
beare tidinges of his victorie, and wyth
him he sente Mago, and .xv. other sena-
tors of newe Carthage, which were, at
the taking of the same cite, taken also pri-
soners and after he had repayred the broken
walles of the citee, and set therein a
sufficient numbze of souldiours, for the
defence of the same: he removed to Meta-
racon: whither he had appoynted the le-
gates of all his olde friendes, and also of
his newe gotten acquaintance, to resorte
for a further communication of theyr al-
liance, and for the further procedynge in
theyr affayres.

Anniball slayeth Cn. Fulvius with .xiii. M
Romaynes, beside Herdonea: Marcellus the
consull chaseth Anniball through Apulia
makinge manye skirmishes with
him. Cap. xlvii.

In this estate were the warres in
Spayne, durynge whych tyme the con-
sull Marcellus toke Salapia by trea-
son

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son, and two other towne of the Sam-
nites by force: where he slewe .iij. thousand
men of warre, which Anniball had lefte
for the keping of the same townes. And
Cn. Fulvius the proconsull, trustyng to
winne Herdonea from Anniball, whiche
was not verie stronge of it selfe, neyther
had any garrison lefte there, for the suffi-
cient defence thereof: he remoued thither
wyth his armie, hauinge the more hope
and comfort to attayne the same, for that
he knew wel, that Annibal after the losse
of Salapia, was departed into the coun-
tre of the Brutians. But suche as were
the sure frendes of Annibal in the towne
of Herdonea, sent him priuilege worde by
messangers. And he desirous to kepe still
his olde frendes, hasted so with his horse-
men & lightest footmen, making so great
journeys, that he was already come nere
Herdonea, before the fame of his coming
wer wel knowen. And to put y^e Romans
in more feare, he appeared in good araye
of battayle sodainly with baners display-
ed. which Fulvius perceiuing, with like
hardines made speede to put his folke in
araye, and ioyned battayle wyth hym.
Then annibal commaunded his horsemen
that

The warres betwene the
that after a signe or token to them made,
whiles the Romaynes were busy in bat-
tyle agaynst his footemen, and euery
mans eye were occupied busily, that they
should secretly crosse the field, and a part
of them to set vpon the backes of his en-
emies, one other part of them to invade
theyr campe and tentes with great noise
and slaughter, sayenge, that he trusted to
banquish this Fuluius as he had. ii. ye-
res passe overcome an other Fuluius of
his name in the same countrey. And in
his hope he was nothing deceyued, for so
soone as the horsmen assailed the Ro-
maynes on their backes with great feare
and slaughter, anone from the campe was
heard a great crye: whereby the Romay-
nes that before kepte araye and foughte
boldely, were so dismayde, that some fled
and many more were slayn. Among which
the sayd Fuluius and. xii. tribunes, with
xiii. M. Romaynes were slaine, and their
campe and stuffe taken.

When Anniball trustinge nothing to the
strength of that towne, remoued the in-
habiters thereof to Metapontus, and to
the Thurines. He slewe the capitaines
thereof, which had secreete communication
wyth

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with the Counsell, and after he sette the
towne on fyre.

Marcellus the Consull, beinge nothing
afrayde with the tidynge of this losse,
sente letters to the senate of Rome, byd-
ynge theim to bee no whitte dyscomfor-
ted therewith: for he doubted not, but he
woulde cause Anniball to haue but be-
rye short ioye of his victorie. Wherevpon
he immediately remoued towarde Anni-
bal, pitching his campe in the plaine fel-
des euen in the sight of his enemies. And
sone after valiantly came forth in order
of battaile, redye to fighte. On the other
side Annibal was no lesse quicke than he.
The battaile betwene them, bothe of the
horsmen and of the footemen was mer-
uailous fierse and cruell, neyther ceassed
it, tyl the nighte departed them, with in-
differēt losse of both parties. In the night
Annibal secretly remoued and went into
Apulia. Marcellus in the mornynge, per-
ceyuinge the departure of his ennemys,
folowed incontinent, and overtoke them
nere vnto Venusia. Thus passed they all
Apulia without any notable battaile, the
one folowynge the other: And euer Anni-
ball woulde remoue in the night, sekinge

The warres betwene the
a place to deceiue his enemies. But the
consul alwayes folowed in the day time,
sending befoze him espies to be sure from
the craftie traine of Annibal.

The summer was almoste ended, and
the time of chosing consuls drew nere, at
the whiche chusinge Marcellus shoulde
haue been him selfe: but he sente his let-
ters to Rome, affyrminge, that it shoulde
be righte hurtful to the common welth,
yf he did depart one foote from Annibal.
For his absence, yea his onely ceasinge
to assaile hym, shoulde geue hym muche
courage. Whereupon he was commaun-
ded to abyde stille with his armye. The
other consul Leutus was sent for. Then
were chosen counsuls M. Fabius Mar-
cius, and M. Fulvius Flaccus. Besydes
this it was determined, that M. Claud-
ius Marcellus shoulde kepe also his armye
and the warres agaynst Annibal one
yere longer.

As touchinge the warres in Spaine, it
was ordeined, yf Publius Scipio & Sulla-
nus shuld be there gouernors, not onelye
for a yere, but vnto the tyme they were
called from the same by the senate.
About this tyme came the ambassadours
of

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 178
of kynge Syphax from Affrica to Rome,
shewynge the prosperous battayles that
he hadde foughte with the Carthaginen-
ses, desyringe to haue the amitee of the
Romaynes agreed to hym by the whole
senate, whiche befoze was moued be-
twene him and the two bretherne Cne-
lus, and P. Scipio in Spaine. To whose
ambassadours the senatours not onelye
gaue gentyl thanks & louing answeres,
but also sente by theim to the kinge, riche
presentes.

Not long after tidinges were broughte
to Rome out of Affrica, that Massanissa,
the sonne of kynge Gala, was come to
Carthage with .v. M. Numidians, and
that a great noumber of other Affricans
were hyred to go ouer into Spaine to As-
drubal, to the intent yf he, strongly accom-
panied, might depart shortly fro thens into
Italy to his brother Annibal, in whome
they iudged yf hope of their victory to rest.

About the same time came Lelius oute
of Spaine to Rome bringing with him a
greate noumber of prisoners, rehersynge
in the senate house the happy wynnynge
of newe Carthage in one daye, with the
getting of many new friends in Spaine.
These

These newes made them not so merry, as the coming of Asdrubal into Italye made them afrayde, consyderynge, that before he was come, all theyr power was skant able to resiste the onely power of Anniball. Nevertheless, wyth as good chere as coulde be, they discharged Lelius, sendinge him againe into Spayne wyth the shippes that came with him.

¶ Marcellus geueth battayle to Anniball, in which his men be put to flight, whereupon he maketh them a sharpe oration, he reneweth the battayle on the morowe, putteth Anniball and his hoste to flighte, with losse of many of his men. Cap. xlviii.

He newe Consul, leauynge all things in good order at Rome, departed towarde the warres. M. Fulvius Flaccus passed Capua, to whome. M. Fabius made instante request, before he departed, that he woulde kepe straight and quicke warres with Annibal whyles that he did besiege the citee of Tarente: whiche citee, yf he mighte ones take from hym, he shoulde haue

haue no place sure to go to, neither knowe to what cost he might safely iourne him: so that he shoulde afterwarde haue small cause to abide in Italy. The same request he also made to Marcellus by his letters: who thynkyng no man in Italye so able to matche Anniball, as he was him selfe, was so kindled and stirred wyth Fabius letters, that so soone as the wynter was passed, and anye foode was founde in the fieldes able to susteine his army and catel, he wente to Canusium, where Annibal then laye, and had moued the rulers of the towne to yelde vnto hym, leauinge the Romayne amitee. But so sone as he perceiued that Marcellus was come, he remoued from thence leauing that plaine countrey, and sought the hilly & woddye countrey, whiche might be more apte for traynes of deceite for his ennemies.

Marcellus euer folowed him hard, loynge alme the campe to campe. Dyuers skirmishes were made betwene the horse men of bothe partes. But Anniball not mindinge to scorde all at ones, fled before him in the night. At the last the other ouertoke him in the plaine fieldes: And as Anniball caused his campe to be trenched and

The warres betwene the
and fortified, Marcellus wth hys men
let the workes thereof : so that whether
he wold or no, he was enforced to do bat-
talle, whiche thinge he had most eschued.
Wherefore they ordered they^r armies on
both parties, and foughte tyll the nyghte
departed them. On the morowe Mar-
cellus earlye put hys men in good araye,
and Annibal did the same, exhortinge his
men to remember they^r noble conquestes
at Trasymenus and at Cannas, and not
to suffer they^r greedy & unreasonable ene-
mye so to bere them that they might not
haue time to encampe thein selues, ye
scarsely to loke aboute or to take breathe.
The sonne whā it riseth, & the Romaine
army, do both at one time appeare in the
fieldes. But in case (saith he) ye so handel
him, that he may ones departe with losse
of hys men out of the fielde, he wyl here-
after be more easye to intreate. With
these exhortacions, & also being euill con-
tented with the tedious continuall pur-
suing of their enemies: they fierly wēt to
battaille where they fought cruelly by the
space of .ii. longe houres. At the laste the
reyghte wyng of the Romaines gaue
backe, whose place to fulfill, Marcellus ap-
pointed

Romaines and the Carthaginenses. 17
pointed another legion of men of armes
of his company. But as the syste reculed
with feare, so the other came faintly into
their places. At the laste the Romaines
host being more fearful than shamefast,
began to flee. There was slaine that day
of the Romans. ii. thousand & seven hun-
dred, wherof. iiii. were capptaynes hun-
dreders, and two tribunes.

Marcellus after that he was come into
his campe, made to his souldiers so sore
and cruell an oracyon, that the woordes
of the angrie capptayue seemed to thein
more displeasaunt and peinesful, than the
trauayle that they toke in the battaille
the daye before.

I am much bound (saith he) to the im-
mortall goddes, when ye so feareful ye
trouled together into your tentes, that
it chaunced not your ennemye, after hys
victorye, to assaile your campe also. For
no faile, loke with what feare ye left the
bataille, with like feare also had ye forsa-
ken your campe. What sodayne feare hath
now inuaded you: what thinge hath cau-
sed you so sone to forget, bothe the estate
of your selfe, and also of your enemies?
Doe ye not remember, that these be the
same

same ennemyes, whom ye ouercame and pursued the lasse Sommer: these be the same, whom sleynge before you both day and night, ye chased throughe the countreis. Be they be the same, that yesterday ye wolde neyther suffer to flee from you, nor yet geue them so muche time, as to fortifye theyr felde. I will no more rehearse thinges, wherein ye may glory: but now will I declare things whercof ye ought muche to be ashamed.

Yesterday ye departed from the battayle with euen hande: and now what hath this daye or this night been so great a let vnto you, or taken from you? Was your armye there by anye whit lessed, or theyr power anye white encreased? Truely methinketh nowe, that I speake not to mine owne compaignie of souldiours, nor yet to Romaines. I perceiue here nothinge of them, but bodies and armour. For if ye had had the same hertes & myndes your ennemies shuld neuer haue looked you on the backes: nor you had losse none of your standerdes. Before this time he could neuer glory of the slaughter of anye of our company, only yesterday ye gaue him the hono: by the death of your felowes.

Then

Then euery man cried out aloud to hym desiring pardon of the day past: and ones againe to trie the hearte and courage of his me, whensoever it should please him. Polve (said he) truly and I will proue you againe, for I will to morowe in the morning set you forth in aray, to the intente that ye as vanquishers may aske forgiveness, rather than as people vanquished. On the morowe, after that his men had well eaten and dronken, and made them strong, when he should put his people in order, he sette in the vobwarde those that fled fyrst the daye before, and those companies that losse theyr standerdes: and then the other as him beste liked, commaunding them all earnestly to fyghte and to ouercome theyr ennemyes: so that the victorie of that presente daye myghte flye and come to Rome before the sclaunder of yesterdaies fleyng.

When Annibal heard of the fierce courage of Marcellus, he sayde: We haue to do nowe with suche an enemye, as can neyther suffer his good fortune nor bad. For if he ouercome his ennemyes, he greatlye shal assayleth them: And when he is ouercome, he also fierseleue reneweth the

W. b. i.

warres

The warres betwene the
warres vpon them. After these wordes,
he incontinent broughte his hoste forth
into the fiede, where the battaile was
more cruel then it was the day before.
The Carthaginenses euer struinge to
kepe the honoure, and the Romaynes to
auenge the shame gotten the day before
The aduantage of the battayl betwene
them abode long in suspence. Marcellus
as a presente witnesse, was euer readye
to comforte and exhorte his Romaines.
Anniball, seinge the doubtfulnesse of the
fght and victorie, to put his enemyes
to sodayne feare, caused his Elephantes
to be sette agaynst the forewarde: whych
at the fyrst commyng, brought them oute
of order, and did them much trouble and
hurte: whereby the one part thereof was
lefte bare and voyde of resistance, and the
rest had fled also, had not Decius Flau-
us a tribune taken the stander of one of
the bandes of horsemen, commaunding
the compaigne belongynge to the same
to folowe him boldelye, whome they o-
beyed: and incontinente brought theym
where the compaigne of Elephantes dyd
most displeasure, causinge mosse trouble
and

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and rumour. Then bad he them couragi-
ously to throwe theyr dartes and speares
at those beastes, whiche they did, woun-
dyng many of them: who felynge theym-
selues hurte, wyth greate rage ranne a-
waye, and coude not be stayed by theym
that rode on them. The Romaynes follo-
wed them still, and droue the vpon theyr
owne compaigne of Spanyardes and Car-
thaginenses, makynge greater slaughter
among them, than they had before done
to the Romaynes. And when they sawe
the Carthaginenses by this meane
brought out of array, the Romayn foot-
men in order entred and brake the array
cleane, puttyng theym to flight: whom
Marcellus caused his horsemen to folow
And the chase ceased not, till they were
driven into the gates of theyr campe,
with great losse both of men and of Ele-
phantes. There were slayne that daye.
viii. M. men, and fize elephantes. Of the
Romaynes there were slayne thre thou-
sand, and very many sore hurte. Where-
vpon Anniball, the next night folowynge,
remoued vnto the Vntians: and Mar-
cellus abode there a season, to cure his
hurt souldyours.

The warres betwene the
 Howe M. Fabius Maximus reconered
 from Anniball the citee of Tarent.
 Capitu. xlix,



In this season. Qu. Fabius
 Maximus the consull tooke
 Manduria wyth force, and
 from thens remoued to Ta
 rente, pitchinge his tentes
 hard by the mouthe of the hauen, where
 he founde certayne shippes, whiche L. ui
 us the late consul had left there for the de
 fence of other shippes that broughte by
 talle and other necessari prouision for the
 castell. At these shippes, and also al other
 that came with vitailles and prouision
 thither, he charged some with gunnes &
 stones, and all kynde of weapons inua
 sine, some he laded with scaling ladders,
 and other engins to assault the towne: so
 that by the sea al thinges were ready for
 the assault. And then he by land also orde
 red his companie for the same. Nowe to
 helpe his purpose to be atchieued, there
 chanced a small thing in estimation: yet
 it proued maruailous happy, for the suc
 cesse of his great enterpryse. Annibal had
 sent to Tarent a crue of men of warre of
 the

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 182
 the countrey of the Brutians. The capti
 ayne of this company was meruailous
 enamored of a yonge woman in the ci
 ty, whose brother was then souldioure
 in the host of Fabius, to whom his sister
 sent worde by letters, to whom his sister
 and newe acquaintaunce of her earnest
 louer, and of his great riches and honour
 Whereupon this man imagining, & tru
 styng also, y the loue of his sister mighte
 leade her louer to do what so euer she
 wold deuise, conceyued a hope to do good
 thereby touchinge the winninge of the
 towne. Whereupon he secretly opened
 his minde to his capitayne Fabius, desi
 ringe him, that he woulde licence him to
 departe from the armye, and to go into
 the citee, whyche he woulde undertake to
 do, by disseimblinge him selfe to be stolen
 away from his companie, for the loue of
 his sister, desirous to be a citezen there.
 The consull thinkyng to proue the effect
 of his opinion, suffered him to depart.
 Thus came he to his sister, and by her
 meanes fell in great familiarite wyth
 her louer the capitayns of the Brutians.
 And after longe acqneyntaunce he began
 couertly to proue his mindes a lyttel and
 litell

The warres betwene the
Itel. After when he found some toward-
nes in him, he set his sister in hand wth
him, who wth her fayre and flatterynge
wordes so compassed him, that to haue
her loue, he consented to the betrayenge
of that parte of the citee, whereof he was
rular and capitayne.

¶ When they were agreed on the time,
maner and circumstance of the purpose,
the souldiour secretly in the night, was
let forth oute of the towne, and came to
his capitayne, declaringe vnto him what
he had done, and what waye he should
take to atchieue his enterpryse. At the
tyme and houre appoynted, whiche was
the beginninge of the nighte the consull
hadde prepared, that on the sea syde in
the hauen, his shippes and men of warre
thereto appoynted should violently as-
saute the towne. And on an other parte
the Romaynes in the castell, wth all
theyr force also, should assayle the citi-
zens: and he wth a good numb^r wth
him, praiue drew him to the Castle
parte of the towne, where he abode a
long season wthout making any noise.
There was great noise and b^rute made
purpose

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 183
purposely on the hauen syde, and on the
syde towardes the castell, where leaste
daunger was: So that Democrates the
capitayne, whych was than nyghe vnto
the crewe of the Brutians, fearynge least
in his absence, the Romaynes myghte
chaunce on the other side to wyne the
towne, whych to feare he was moued
by the great rumour and crye of the citi-
zens on that parte. ¶ When he hearde all
thinges quyet and at reste on that parte
of the towne, wherein he was, he wth
his people hasted toward the castell side,
where he heard the greatest noise.

¶ When the Consull, hearynge the noise
ceased of men of armes, whiche before
were verie loude, iudginge that the ke-
pars of that ward were gone from thens
be commaunded streyghte scalyng ladders
to be sette to the walles on that side
where the Brutians kept warde, whych
was done wthoute any resistance.

For the Brutians not onely made no re-
sistence, but also holpe theym vp.

Thus entered they the towne, & freight
wente to the nerte gate, the whiche they
broke, and caused muche of theyr compa-
nye

The warres betwene the
pany to entre with theyr baners display-
ed. And by the breake of the daye, they
came into the market place. The Taren-
tines perceiuing their towne to be taken
came with all their power from the cas-
tell side, and from the hauen, to the suc-
cour thereof: but al to late. For after the
battayle was a litell begunne, they felte
them selues farre vnable to resyste the
Romaynes. Wherefore anone they fled
euerye man to his house, or to his fryen-
des house. There were Pico and Demo-
crates slaine in battaile. Philomanes the
chiefe authoure of betrayenge the towne
to Annibal, toke his horse and fledde: but
whither he went, or what became of him
it was not after known. Great slaugh-
ter was made both of the Carthaginen-
ses and of the Tarentines. Many pris-
oners were taken, and a ryche spoile. The
wall which Annibal made to deuide the
castell from the towne thowen downe.

Anniball when he first heard, that Ta-
rent was besieged he with all haste possi-
ble hyed thereto to the succoure thereof.
But when he came nere thereunto, and
hearde newes of the takinge of the ci-
tee

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citee, & by what meanes, he sayd: I nowe
doe right well finde, that the Romaynes
haue also an other Annibal among them.
For enen by such crasste as we wan Ta-
rent, by suche haue we losse it. When for
that it shoulde not appeere, that he were
reculed for feare, he pytched hys campe
foue miles from the citee, where he taried
certaine daies: and from thence wente to
Metapontus, where he caused letters to
be written by two of the chiefe rulars of
the citee to Fabius. The contentes there-
of was, that if it woulde please the Ro-
maines and hym, to receiue theym into
theyr grace, and to remitte all theyr olde
iniuries and wronges to them done: they
would deliuer into his handes, bothe the
towne, and also the garrison of the Car-
thaginenses, which were within the same.
Fabius nothinge mistrusting, sente to
them againe, appointinge a time, when
he wolde come to Metapontus to speake
with them, which letters were streight
brought to Annibal. Who beyng verie
iypouse, to trayne & deceiue the olde wyse
Fabius. At the tyme appointed layde a
great ambushment vpon the way, where
Fabius shoulde passe to Metapontus.

The

The warres betwene the

The same tyme when Fabius should depart, he sought by diuinations and auguries, how he should speede in hys voyage as by the killing of a beast, and therewith to do sacrifice: and by the lucke of byrdes, as the detestable vble was then, and longe before hadde bene amonge the Romaines. Whiche auguries were so vnluckye and vntowarde, that they shewed to him some euill aduenture, if he wente forwarde in his appointe d iourney. Wherefore the deuynours or wyle men aduised him, to tary styl in his tentes, for feare of treason.

The Metapontans, seing that Fabius came not at the day assigned, sent againe to him requyringe hym to come to their capitaines. Which messengers were incontinente taken and examyned vpon the case. And they fearinge the tourmentes that were prepared for them, confessed all the deceite and treson, whereby Fabius escaped his death, and the destruction of many of hys army.

Scipio

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Scipio fygtheth with Haldubal beside Be-
rula, dyueth hym from his hyl, sleaeth. viii.
of hys host, taketh. xii. of prisoners
with Massus newes to Massanissa
and a great pray in the campe.

Capitulo. i.



In the same summer tyme, whyles all these thynges were done in Italy. Scipio beinge in Spayne, had so gottē the loue of the Spanyardes, that Calco, Indibilis, and Mandonius, the great princes of Spayne, were come into his amities and aliaunce. Indibilis desired, that their cominge might not be dishonourable vnto them, and that no man should reproche theim after, that they were stolen awaye from theyr old friendes of Carthage, and lyke lighte people were runne to the Romaynes: For he sayd, they had done wor-
thily at all times for them. whyche theyr kyndenesse was euer recompensed with pride, auarice, and manye iniuries, so that onely theyr bodies abode in the amitie of Carthage, but theyr hertes hadde longe bene towarde the Romaynes: whom

whome they knewe euer to be keepers of
theyr truse taken, and mainteinours of
right and equitec. **W**herfore he despyred
Scipio, to receiue theyr friendelye com-
myng vnto him, accoꝝdinge to their mea-
ninge and intente, and as he found them
dyligent in theyr seruise doing vnto him,
so to esteeme them. Scipio hertly thanked
them, grauntynge theyr requestes in all
thynges. **W**herupon theyr wyues and
chyldeꝛen were restozed vnto them, whiche
before were captiues with Scipio: and a
stedfastte aliaunce of amitee was knit be-
twene theym. And sone after theyr hole
power of men of war came to these pꝛin-
ces, and ioyned in campe wyth the Ro-
maines, not departinge from them, but
guided them euer, tyl they byght them
nere the campe of their ennemies.

By this meane was the armye greatly
increased. **B**et besides this, by one other
waye Scipio polytikelye augmented hys
host. **F**or whan he sawe no nauy of Car-
thage was on the sea, so that he neded
not to haue any greate noumber of men
in his shippes: He brought his hole nauy
to Tarracon, taking all the souldyours,
whiche were in theym, and also the more
parte

parte of his maryners, with hym in the
warres by lande. **W**ith this greate hoste
he went forwarde, and made such speede
that secretly he came nere vnto the towne
of Betula, where Hasdrubal lay with his
armye. At theyr firste comminge thither,
certaine smal skirmishes were made be-
twene theym. **B**ut Hasdrubal, seying the
Romaines power daylye increased, and
his to be made lesse, thoughte he woulde
leopard to fight without lenger pꝛolon-
ginge of time. **B**ut he determined to seke
a place of strengthe, where he myghte
fight to his aduantage, and to the more
hurte of his ennemies. **W**herfore in the
night he remoued hys armye to an hygh
hille, nere adioyning. In the toppe where
of there was a fayre large playne: on the
backe side of hys hill, there ran a ryuer,
whiche compassed a good part of the hyl.
Furthermore about the myddes of this
hyll, was there an other playne fyeelde,
much lower than the other playne: vn-
to the which nether playne, the ascending
was harde and pꝛinsfull. **I**nto this lower
fyeelde Asdrubal, the day folowynge, sent
a great number of Numidian horsemen,
and other lyght harnysed sotemen of Af-
frica,

The warres betwene the
frica, & of the isles called Baleares, now
named Maiorque and Minorque.
Scipio rydyng about his host, thewel
them they: ennemys. They hearten
(sayeth he) wyl not serue them to
fghte with vs on euen ground. Where
fore they seeke oute hygh mountaynes,
trustynge more to the strengthe of the
place, then to they: owne strengthe or ar
mour. Now Carthage hadde his walles,
whyche neuerthelesse was scaled by my
Romayne souldyours. Neyther coulde
the hygh hylles, nor the castell therof,
nor yet the Sea wythstande they: po
wer, I knowe (sayeth he) that these hye
places, whyche once ennemys haue cho
sen, they thinke shall serue them, to flye
from vs, by leapyng and running downe
the steeperesse thereof. But that wayes I
wyl also stoppe from them. Where
upon incontynente Scipio sent two com
panies of his men of warre, commaun
dinge the one to keepe the mouth of the
valley by which the riuer ranne: and that
the other shoulde abyde secreatlye on the
waue, that laye by the bowynge of the
mountayne, betwene the towne of Be
tula and the fyeldes: And he hym selfe
with

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with a good number of nimble har nessed
men, wente streight towarde these Pu
nidians and Affricanes, whyche were
on the lower playne of the hylle: who
suffered them to come almoste by wyth
oute let, save onely of the steeperesse of
the hylle: vntyll they came wythin the
castynge of dartes. When was the
fghte sore on bothe partyes, but spe
ciallye greate plentye of stones and o
ther ingynnes was throwen from the
hill on the Romaynes. Neuerthelesse al
though the hylle was verie tedpouse and
harde to bee wonne, and they also almost
ouerwhelmed with stones: yet they be
ynge nymble and well hearted men,
and muche vned to the appocheynge and
scalyng of walles, ceased not to goo
stille vpperwarde, tyll the forreste of
them hadde gotten the plaine and euen
grounde. They anone putte the Pu
nidians to fleghte, and wyth greate
slaughter droue them by to they: army,
that abode in the hygheste parte of the
hylle. Whenne Scipio commaunded
the same his companye to goe streyght
vpper after toward the myddell of they:
ennemys. The reste of his hoste
he

The warres betwene the
he deuyned in two partes, wherof he cau-
sed Meltius to take the one halfe, and with
them to go aboute on the righte hande of
the hyl, to espie where he might fynde a
more easie place for them to ascende. He
with the other part kept on the left hand.
And ere ever he hadde set anye farre com-
passe, clambe vpon the sayd mountaine, and
ran on his ennemyes, whose backs then
were towarde him, wherewith the hoste
of the Carthaginenses was soze troubled
and great clamour was made, insofinge
them to tourne them to resist Scipio and
his company, and to chaunge theyr order
whiche they were in befoze. In all thys
troublous bruyte came Meltius on theym
on the other syde, whose commynge cau-
sed the forewarde to gene backe, for feare
to be inuaded behynde, by meane wher-
of, the myddel warde of Scipio got them
the hille, whiche befoze was not possyble
for them to haue wonne, the armye and
Elephantes kepinge their aray, the place
was so steepe to ascende. Then began the
Carthagynenses to flee for their saue-
garde, there was greate slaughter made
amonge them that abode, by Scipio and
his company: and of those that fled, many
were

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were receyued by the two companies,
whiche were befoze layd in ambushement
for the same purpose: so that there were
slayne to the number of. viii. M. men.
Hastuball seinge the beginninge of the
battayle nothyng prosperous after his
intent, sent his money, and manye of his
elephantes away befoze him, and he solo-
wed after with as manye as coude saue
them selues with flyeng: and passing the
riuer of Lagus, went toward the moun-
taines of Pyreneis. Scipio, commynge
to the campe of the Carthaginenses, gaue
all the pray thereof to his souldiours, ex-
cepte the prisoners, which were in num-
bre .x. thousande footemen, and two. M.
horsemen: of which nombze, so manye as
were Spaniards, he lette go at libertee
freely, wythoute ransome payenge, the
rest he caused to be solde by the Quettoz.
Then gaue he large gytes to the princes
of Spayne, specially to Indibilis he gaue
iii. C. horses, the best he could chuse of all
that were taken, Whrough which his li-
berall distribution, the communes of
Spayne called him kyng: whiche name,
Scipio declared to them that it was very
odious and detestable to the Romaynes.
Cc. wher

Wherfore he desired them to abstayne from calling him bi that name. For with the name of gouernoure or capitayne, he was well contented.

When the Quæstor was about to sel the prisoners by the captaynes commaundement, among other he founde a goodly yong childe of .xv. yeares olde, whome he sente to Scipio, for that he heard of hym that he was descended of lagnage royall. Of whom Scipio enquired what he was and of what countrey, and howe he, beinge of no greater age, happened to be in the campe among men of warre. He answered, that he was of Numidia, & was named Massus. His father (he sayd) was dead. Wherfore his mother sente him to her father Sala kinge of Numidia, and from that tyme he had bene broughte up wyth his vncle Massanissa. And whē his vncle came ouer into Spayne, to the succour of the Carthaginenses, he came also wyth him. But ever when he went to any battayle, his vncle would not suffer him to go with him. So that before this tyme (he sayde) he neuer came in the field. And now it was also vnware to his said vncle, But when euerye man made him ready

readye, he priuilye also toke an horse and harneys, and entred the battayle wyth them. But his chaunce was so euell, that he had nowe a fall from his horse, whereby he was taken of the Romaynes. Scipio demaunded of him, whether he were not desirous to retourne to Massanissa. To whom he answered, weepinge for soye, that he would be very gladd, if his chaunce were so good. The Scipio gaue him a rynge of golde, a cote, a senators garment, a spanyshe cloke, a goodly horse wel harneysed, and a buckle of golde, and suffered him to depart to his vncle at his pleasure, appoyntinge him horsemen to conducte him on the waye, so farre as he would haue them.

After these thinges done, he bestowed the reste of the summer in receyving manye people and cities of Spayne, into the amitie of the Romaynes, and remayned at Tarracon.

Soone after the battayle fought at Betula, the other Asdrubal the sonne of Giskon, and Mago with theyr armyes, came from the further parte of Spayne, to the helpe of the other Masdruball: but all to late. For the battayle was past,

The warres betwene the
before they commynge. Wherefoze they
consulted what was best to be done. At
the last, considering that Scipio by giftes
and his liberalitee, hadde wonne the hartes
of the hither partes of Spayne, and
that onely the people of the furthest part
of y^e countrey towarde the Gages or pil-
lers of Hercules, knewe as yet nothing
of him, nor of the Romaynes, wherefoze
they were sure friends to the Carthagi-
nenses: they determined, that of necessity
they must remove all theyr souldiours
of Spayne, eyther to the furthest partes
of Spayne, or els into Fraunce: or els in
shorte space they woulde all turne to the
friendship of the Romaynes.

They also agreed that Asdruball, taking
with him all the Spaniardes oute of
Spayne, and farre from the name of Sci-
pio, should go ouer the mountaines with
theym towarde Hanniball into Italye,
where the head and chiefe ground of the
warres was.

Furthermoze, that Mago, leauing his
hooste with Asdruball the sonne of Gyl-
gon, shuld passe ouer the sea into the illes
called Baleares, now called Maiorque
and minoꝛque, with a greate summe of

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money, where he should also hyze manye
mo souldiours for theyr helpe in this pur-
pose. After whose departinge. Asdruball
the sonne of Gylgon, wyth all his hoste
was appoynted to depart into Portugal
and that he should in no wise fight with
the Romaynes. When had Massanissa. iii
M. of the best and lightest hoxses and me
to be with him: wyth which nymbꝛe he
was assigned to peruse and ride abrode
the countreyes, helping the cities fren-
des of the Carthaginenses, and to spoyle
and destroye the towne and fyeldes of
theyr enemies. With these intentes and
mindes, euerye one of the capitaynes de-
parted from other, makinge great speede
to atchiefe their enterpryse.

¶ Marcellus the Consull is slayne, by an im-
bushe ment layd by Anniball, Crispinus the
other Consul, and Marcellus sonne be
foze hurte. Capi. li.

The fame of Scipio daylye en-
creased at Rome. Also Quin-
Fabius Maximus had gotten
great honoure by winning the
towne

C. iii.

The warres betwene the
towne of Tarente. But Marcellus by
meane of enemies was runne in greate
infamy. For it was reported, that Anniball
rouinge abroad in the countrey, he
kepte his hoste in the summer season in
the towne of Venusia. Marcellus to
pouge him of this sclaunderous name
came to Rome, agaynst the tyme of cho-
sing of officers. Whither came also Quin-
Fulvius Flaccus the consull. There
was the cause of Marcellus openly deba-
ted. And C. Vibulus, one of the Tribu-
nes, charged him sore, sayinge, that the
negligence of Marcellus, and other suche
like, was the cause of Annibals so long
abode in Italy. This is (sayd he) the teth-
yere, sens he came fyrste into this coun-
tre. He hath liued almost as long in Ita-
lye, as he hath done in Carthage. At the
choosing of officers ye willed M. claudius
Marcellus to continue a yere longer in
his office: and now if ye wil knowe the
fruite that he hath brought forth this
yere, by the meane thereof, ye shal under-
stande, that he hath his hoste two tymes
beaten and manye of the ym slayne this
yere. And in the chiefe of sommer, he
hath kepte the residue of his men at Ve-
nusia

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nusia, within the sure walles of the same.
To this accusation Marcellus so wisely
and sobely answered, shewing his
pollicies and his actes done agaynst An-
nibal, that his excuse was not onely wel
taken, but also for his well doyng, the
daye folowynge he was, by the hole con-
sent of the people chosen consull. And Ti-
tus Quintus Crispinus was chosen to
be his felowe. They bothe were appoynted
to kepe Italye agaynst Anniball.
Marcellus went to his olde armye to Ve-
nusia, takinge with him diuers other, to
supplie the places of those that were be-
fore slayne. Crispinus seeing the honoure
that was growen to Fabius by winninge
of Tarent, thoughte to besiege the citee
of Locrus. Wherefore he sente for all
maner ordinances to Sicilia, wyth ship-
pes also to assaulte the same by sea: as
well as by lande. But hearyng of the
coming of Annibal to Latinium, he lefte
his purpose for a season, and ioyned his
hoste with his felowe Marcellus, who
as then was come frome Venusia, into
the countrey of Apulia, where they both
incamped their armies, thre myles
the

The warres betwene the
the one from the other. Whither came al
so Anniball soone after that he perceined
the consull Crispinus had lefte of his be
sieging of the Locrenses, and in the same
countrey pitched his campe and tentes.
He had the yere before assayed the power
and heart of Marcellus, sometime wyth
wynning, sometime with losse of men.
Wherefore fearynge with the power of
both the consules to be ouermatched, he
then deuysed, howe with policies and
craft to deceiue them. The consuls made
ouer his skymythes wyth his men, thin
king with suche trifeling frayes to passe
forth the sommer, and to kepe him occu
pied: Yet neuerthelesse, they trusted to be
stronge ynough also for the besieginge of
Locrus. Wherefore they sent to Sicilia,
causinge L. Cincius, wyth his nauy and
army, to come to the besieging of Locrus
by the sea. Furthermore to assaile it also
by lande, they commaunded parte of the
armye, whiche laye for the defence of
Tarent, to be brought thither.
This appoyntment was not so pryncely
done, but that Annibal hadde knowlege
thereof by certayne of the Thurines.
Whereupon agaynst the tyme appoin
ted

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pointed of theyr cominge, he sente an em
busshement of two thousande horsemen,
and thre thousande footemen, to lye se
cretlye vnder the hille of Metillia, vpon
the way, whereby the Romaine Taren
tines shoulde passe. The Romaynes
vnaduisedlye passinge by the waye, were
amonge them to their greate hurtes, for
two thousand of them were there slaine,
and one. M. and two hundred taken pry
soners, the reste that escaped, fled by dy
uers waies backe againe to Taret. The
consules laye in theyr severall campes,
not farre from the campe of Anniball.
Howe was there in the myddel waye be
twene the Romaines campe and hym, a
greate hille, full of woodde, not taken
nor viewed by any of them both. The Ro
mains feared for to viewe it, for that they
doubted, what maner of grounde the vt
termoste parte thereof was toward theyr
ennemyes. Neither was it viewed of
Anniball: for that he esteemed the same to
be a place more mete for to deceiue his
ennemies, than for to pitche thereon his
campe. Wherefore he in the nighte sente
thither a company of Numidian horsemen
to lie pryncely in the myddel of the woodde
with

The warres betwene the
without mousing or makynge anye noyse
in the daie tyme, for feare to be espied.
The Romaynes ever cryed to their cappy-
taines, that they shoulde take the sayde
hille, and pytche there, one of theyr
camps, for feare lest Annibal shuld take
it before theim. Than sayde Marcellus
to his felowe Crispinus, lette vs then,
with a certayne horsemen with vs, go
vnto the same hyl: by the sight whereof,
we maye dispose all thinges accordyng-
ly. Seyng thus agreed, they taking with
them two hundred and .xx. horsemen,
went both to surueye the sayde hille and
wood. Whom yong Marcellus, the con-
suls sonne, and Aulus Manlius beyng
bothe tribunes, folowed. So couetous
was the mynd of Marcellus to toyne bat-
tyle with Annibal, that he thoughte he
coulde neuer toyne his campe nyghe
inough to the campe of his ennemye.
Wherefore at his departing he caused his
people to bee in a redynesse: that in case
the place lyked theym, that they myghte
gather by the vesselles, and all theyr
stuffe, and folowe theym frome theyr
camps.

The cappytaines passed thozough a lit-
tel

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tell playne fælde, and from thense they
entred into a sayde brode waye or ry-
dyng, whiche wente by into the wood-
des. At the toppe of this ridinge, the Ru-
mydians hadde sette an espie to watche,
not thinkinge of anye so greatte a praye
as happed theim to come: but onelye to
watche for forrageours or wood cartars,
that shuld happe to roue abroad for vitai-
les, woodde, or suche necessaries.
This espye warned them of the Romay-
nes commyng, and of the noubre, and
gaue them a signe, when euerye man of
theym shoulde leape oute of his secrete
denne: whiche he craftilie executed. For
he gaue them not the sygne to issue out,
till the Romaynes were so farre pas-
sed in theyr waye, that the hindermoste
parte of the embusshement mighte in-
close them, and stoppe theyr waye be-
hynde theym by that tyme the foremost of
the embusshement assailed them before.
Than on all partes they issued oute, and
layde on the Romaynes. The consules
seyng theym selues stopped, bothe be-
fore and behynde, foughte manfullye
theym selues, and comforted theyr fello-
wes, thinginge to prolonge the battayle
till

The warres betwene the
 till succours mighte come to theim.
 But the other were so fierse, that part of
 the Romaines fledde. Neuerthelesse the
 rest foughte for a season, till they sawe
 Crispinus sore wounded, and his fellowe
 Marcellus, thrust thozough with a speare
 falle deadde to the ground. Than the rest
 that were left on liue fledde with Crispinus
 the Consul, who was sore hurt with
 two dartes, and yonge Marcellus, being
 also sore wounded.
 Aulus Manlius was there slaine, with
 Marcus Aulus, and foure and foztie o-
 ther horsemen. Arenius, wyth fise ser-
 geantes of the consules, and eightene o-
 ther horsemen, were taken prisoners.

Anniball craftilye sendeth letters to Sala-
 pia, sealed with Marcellus signet. Anniball
 passeth the mountaines wyth his ar-
 mye, to mete his brother Annibal.

Cap. lii.

Anibal knowinge that greates
 feare wold be in the Romaine
 hoste, by the death of the one
 Consul, and also by the wound-
 ynge of the other: to put them to further
 feare,

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feare, he incontinente remoued his hoste
 into the same hylle, where the battayle
 hadde beene befoze, in the same place he
 pitched his campe. There founde he the
 bodye of Marcellus, whiche he caused to
 be buried. Crispinus beinge sore feared
 with the death of his fellowe, and also
 with his owne woundes: in the nyght fo-
 lowinge remoued secretly his armie into
 the highest and next hil, that for his suer-
 tee could finde, there pitching his campe
 and tentes. Bothe the capitaynes ende-
 uoured them selues, to the uttermost, the
 one to deceiue, and the other to eschewe
 deceite.

Anniball, with the bodye of Marcellus,
 founde also his rynge, with his signet:
 whereby he trusted to make deceitefull
 conclusions. Crispinus mistrustinge also
 the same, sent with made worde to all the
 cities of the Romaines, nere adioynning,
 warninge theim, that his fellowe Marcellus
 was slaine, and that Anniball hadde
 gotten his signet. Wherefore he com-
 maunded theim, in no wyse to giue cre-
 dence to anye letters that should be sente
 vnto them, sealed with the seale of Mar-
 cellus, or made in his name. Some after

The warres betwene the
a messenger came to Salapia from An-
nibal, with letters written & sealed in the
name of Marcellus: shewing vnto them,
that the night following Marcellus would
princely come thither. Wherefore he
commaunded the capitaynes and garriso-
n to be redy at hys comming, to knowe
hys further pleasure, what was to be
done. The Salapiens findinge craffe in
the wytyng, sent backe the messengers
to Annibal with gentyll answer. And
they the night prefixed, sette sure watche
and warde on the walles speciallly on
that parte of the towne, and at that gate,
where they demed theyr ennemyes would
come. A lyttel before the day came Annib-
ball, with a greate compaigne wyth hym.
The first company that came to the gates
was of Romans, that were departed fro
the cuntry, & taken in wages by Annibal.
They hadde all Romaine armoure, and
when they came to the gate, they spake
laten, as did the Romaines, wakyng the
watchemen, and biddynge them to open
the gate to the consul. The watche arose,
and with greate leuers lifte vp the port-
colyes so hyghe, that men mighte enter
vnder it. When the sayde bande of Ro-
maynes

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maynes runnwaies, entred so fast as they
might. But when they were entred, to
the number of. vi. C. of theim, the rope,
which dyd holde vp the portcolyes, was
let slyp, and fel downe with greate noyse
making. The Salapiens, with small re-
sistence, slew theim that were entred the
towne. For that they mistrusting no such
thinge, bare their harness hangynge on
theyr shulders, thinkinge to haue entred
with peace. Many of the towne with spea-
res and dartes, chased theyr ennemyes
from the gates and walles.

Thus Anniball, beyng taken in hys
owne trappe, was deceyued: and from
thence departed, to rase the syege of his
friendes the Locrensis, whome Cincius,
with his souldiours, and ordynance, that
came from Sicilia, kept verie harde and
straghte.

Mago was in the citee, who hearyng of
the death of Marcellus, toke some com-
fort vnto him. But when he hearde ty-
dynges, that Annibal had sent his Numi-
dian horsemen before him, and was com-
ming him selfe after with hys soterne, as
spedilys as he mighte, he was then with-
out feare. Wherefore when he espied a fac-
of

The warres betwene the
of the Numidians appoehynge he cau-
sed the gate to be opened, and in arraye
with his folke issued out vppon the Ro-
maines. His sodeine comming on them,
more then his strengthe, caused the bat-
taye to endure for a season doubtful.

But when the Numidians were also
come, the Romaynes were so stricken
with feare, that withoute order they ran
towards theyr shippes, leauinge behynde
them all theyr ordynance, wherewith
they had beaten the walles. And by thys
meane was the spyge of the Locrensis
rayled.

Crispinus the counsell sente letters to
Rome, bothe of hys felowes death, and
also of his sore hurt: whiche letted hym
so, that he could not come to Rome to the
choyng of the consuls. The senators
were verpe pensyfe, to se two consuls ar-
mies destitute of capitaynes. Wherefore
at the daye of the election, they looked a-
bout, to finde two wyse and circumspecte
persons for that office, who had bene ac-
quainted with the deceytes of Annibal.
First they aboue other lyked. C. Claudius
Nero, whome they knew to be a valy-
aunte man, and a good capitaine. But they

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they esteemed him to be to quicke for that
tyme of the warres, and to matche that
sobre capytayne Annibal. Wherefore
they deuyled to matche his quickenes
wyth a sobre felow of great temperance.

Then was there one M. Lulius, a
man of great sobrenesse, late come again
into the citee, he had before bene consull
about viii. yeares passed, and in his con-
sulshippe was condemned by the com-
mons without fault: and put out his
office. Which shame to him done he toke
so displeasauntly, that leauinge the citee,
he wente forth into the countrey, to dwell
out of the company of men. And. viii. yea-
res after his condemnation M. Marcel-
lus, and M. Valerius Leuinus the Con-
suls, brought him home agayne into the
citee: but they founde him foule and euell
apparellled, his heare and beard longe, as
a token of his shame receyued. But at
this time the censors caused him to reuise
his heare, and puttinge on other cleane
garments, to come into the senate house
When he was broughte thither, and the
fathers were examined of theyr opinions
of M. Liuius touching the office of Con-
sull: They agreed al, both senators and
D. I. the

the commons, that it were a meete com-
ple of him and Claudius Nero. But he
alone refused the office, accusing the citi-
zens of theyr unkinde lightnesse, sayeng.
A meruayle much, ye laye now the bur-
then of this office on me, whom ye of late
thrust oute of that same offyce, thinking
me vnworthy thereof. If ye accompte me
to be a good and an honest man, why the
did ye condemne me as an euell man,
and as an offender? And sins ye iudged
that I euell gouerned the Consulshippe
wherin I last was: why trust ye me now
agayne wpth the same rourne?

With such words he accused the fathers
and also the commons. But the senators
rebuked him for his wordes shewing him
the craumple of M. Furius Camillus,
whyrche though he were banished the ci-
tie of Rome, yet was he after restored a-
gayne: For (sayde they) like as the chyld
ought to suffer the sharpe punysshement
of his father: so ought euery man to suf-
fer the punysshement of his countrey, with
patience and gentlenesse. With these
wordes they appeased him, and caused
him to take on him the sayd office.

The one consull was appoynted to kepe

warre agaynst Anniball in Italie, leasse
he shoulde dye here to Hasdruball, co-
minge from the mountaynes to his suc-
cours: The other was assigned to meete
Asdruball: the same of whom was, that
he beganne to approche the mountaynes
to thintent to come ouer, to layne his po-
wer with his brother Anniball. The opi-
nion of Anniball did also much helpe the
Romayns in this purpose. For although
he knewe, that his brother woulde that
sommer passe the mountaynes, to come
ouer to him: yet when he remembered the
manifolde lettes that he had him selfe,
as in passing the riuer of Rhodanus, and
then the dangerous mountaynes, stry-
uinge both with men and perillous pla-
ces, wherein he had spent fise monethes,
he looked not for so speede and quicke com-
ming of his brother, which caused him to
be so long, ere euer he remoued from the
place where he wintered with his armye.
But in this he was much deceyued. For
Asdruball had better speede in his passage
then he looked for him selfe. For the frech-
men, & also the mountanois did not only
receiue him, & suffered him with his ar-

mye to passe theyr countreyes: but also they folowed him to the warres, leading him many sure wayes, whych to Anniball his brother, were then vnable to be passed. Agayne, the wayes ouer the mountaynes, by the continuall vse of goynge ouer them, were made much moze easye then they were, and the people moze gentle to intreate. For befoze Anniballs cominge, they were not vsed to the companye of straungers, neyther had sene anye befoze in the countrey. Wherefoze they wer wild & sauage people. They thought also at the fyrst time, that the Carthaginenses had come to take their castels and cartell from them. But nowe the same of the warre holden in Italye, betwene the Romaines & the Carthaginenses, taught them, and made them to knowe, that the hole contentiō betwene those noble head cities of the worlde, beyng so farre distant a sundre, was onelye for the honour and for ryches: so that they woulde trye, whether of them should possede the dominion of the hole.

These causes knowen, made the mountaynes open and easye for Asdruball to passe: but his speede was not so good in passing

passing the same, as his let was great in the besyginge of Placentia. When he was come ouer, he had thought the citie bringe in a sayre playne countrey, had bene easye to winne: and by the same of the winning thereof, he thought al other cities adioyning, should haue trebled for feare. But the strength thereof much deceyued him, and that knewe Anniball full well. For when he came ouer the ryuer Trebia, he in vaine had assayed the strength thereof. So that Asdrubals assyginge of Placentia, was not onelye a lette of his owne iournay: but also it stayed Anniball much longer: after he heard thereof, ere euer he set forth of the place, where he wintred with his hoste.

The Consuls with theyr armies wente to theyr prouinces M. Liuius towardes Placentia, whom ere he departed Quin. Fabius warned and exhorted, that he should not ouer hastelye fyght with his ennemies, befoze he knewe the maners and condicions of them. To whom Liuius remayning yet in displeasure toward his citezens for his banishment, answered: that he would fyghte with theym, so soone as he myght haue sight of them. When the cause was demaunded of him

The warres betwene the
why he would make therein such hast:
Truly (sayde he) eyther I wyll quickely
haue great honoure, by subduynge myne
enemies, or els great ioye, by the sleynge
of mine owne unkinde citezens. Whiche
ioye although it be to me not honest: yet
shall it be according to theyr deseruinges.
¶ Quintus Claudius Peto made haste,
til he approached nere vnto Annibal: who
as then was gone into the countrey of
the Lucanes, and laye by the towne of
Grument. Claudius hadde in his armye
fourtie thousand footemen, and two thou-
sande and fise hundreded horsemen: Annib-
ball gathering together as much power
as he coulde amonge the Brutians, and
from such fortresses as he thar helde: lay
incamped nygh vnto the walles of Gru-
ment: and within halfe a mile of the was
the campe of the Romaines. Betwene
both the capes there was a goodly plaine
valeye, hauing on y one syde fayre plaine
hilles, wythout anye woddes or couerte,
far to hys anye embowement, or canse
deceyte. Wherefore it was the lesse sus-
pecte to bothe partyes. These hilles lay
adioynyng to the lefte syde of the Car-

Romaines and the Carthaginenses. 198
thaginenses, and to the ryghte syde of
the Romaines. In the playne medowe
were many lyghte skymyshe made be-
twene the hostes, and manie excursions
the Romaine consull caused to be made
onelye to kepe his ennemyes there from
going toward Asdruball.
On the other syde Annibal, desyrous to
remoue out of that place with all his po-
wer, intended to geue him battayle.
Wherefore he put his whole hoste in
arraye. Claudius Peto, perceyuinge his
intent, caused secretely the nyghte folo-
weng, Titus Assellus, and P. Claudius
two tribunes, wyth a good numbze of
men wyth them, to passe ouer the sayde
hill adioynyng, and to abyde in the va-
ley behinde the hilles, appoynting them
a tyme, whan they should descend frome
the mountayne on the backe of theyr en-
nemyes. He hym selfe in the breake of
the daye, wyth the reste of his footemen
and horsemen came into the fyeelde in good
arraye. Annibal lyke wyse commaunded
his men to arme theym, and great noyse
was made in the campe, euery man run-
nyng to harneys.

and

And when they were armed, they ranne out of the campe gates, bothe horsemen and footemen, wythout arraye before Anniball had knoweledge thereof. And as soone as they were oute of the campe in the playne, they ranne to theyr enemies fighting both on horsebacke and on foote as chaunce gaue theym to meete wyth theyr enemies, keepyng none order.

When the consull sawe them thus runninge abrode in the fyeelde without order he commaunded C. Arunculeus, wyth the horsemen of a legion, to inuade the Carthaginenses with as much violence as he might: wherby he might slea them being without order like beastes, before they could be brought in arraye. Whiche he dyd diligently execute, makyng great slaughter. The battayle was stronge for a season, by reason of continuall resort of freshe souldiours running to the succour of theyr felowes:

Annibal beyng yet in his campe hearing the noyse of his men fighting, came forth with the rest of his power, also diligently applied him selfe: that even as his men were fightinge, he putte many of theym in arraye.

Whiche thyng
hath

hath not been lyghtly seene, and therein he shewed hym lesse to be an expert capytayne, hauinge olde and wel acquainted warryours vnder hym. And thus had he brought his whole hoste in order, as they were syl fightinge: had not. C. Asellus, with his bandes of Romaynes, sodaine-ly descended from the hilles, at the backe of the Carthaginenses, wyth greate clamour: By the meanes whereof, they beinge asyd lest they shuld be stopped from their campe, began to flee on all partes. The horsemen slew many of them in the chase: and many mo had been slayne, had not the campe been so nere at hande. Yet lost Anniball of his men at that battayle viii. M. whiche were slayne, and. vii. C. taken alyue. The nexte daye, and dyuers daies after, the Romains in arraye kepte the fyeelde, desyrous to fight, but the Carthaginenses abode syl in theyr tentes.

Done after in the night, Annibal, with his armie, remoued towarde Apulia, makinge greate fyres before the campe, towarde the Romaines, and leapyng in the entree of his campe, certaine Sumidians horsemen for a tyme, tyll he wyth his host might be farre gone from his enemies.

The warres betwene the
enemys. **W**han it was day: lyghte, the
saide Numidians thewed them selues in
the gate of the campe for a season, pur-
posely to deceiue the Romaynes: and whā
they sawe theyr tyme, they speedilye rode
after theyr company.

Whan the consulle, hearinge no noyse
in the tentes of his ennemys, sente two
light horsemen to viewe theyr campe, who
findinge it voyde of theyr ennemys, re-
toured to Claudius, certifyinge hym of
theyr departyng. **W**heropon he with his
hosse went thither, and toke the spoyle of
suche baggage as was there lefte: and
on the morowe earlye folowed the Car-
thaginenses, by the same that they heard
of their waye, by which they were gone.
Anniball, no more wyllyng to fyghte,
toke his waye euer in the nyght, and ouer
the mountaynes, till he came to Metapontus:
wherc he toke of Hanno, the souerayn
dioures, which were there lefte, and logy-
ned them to his armye, sendyng hym
with a smalle number wyth hym, into
the countrey of the Brutians, there
to assemble mo men of warre to
his succoure.

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 206

Of the greate battayle betwene Asdrubal
and the consules, in whiche Asdrubal was
slayne, with six and fifty thousand men,
beside many that were taken, with
a great spoyle. Cap. liiii.

Asdrubal, leauyng his further
assieginge of Placentia, sente
frenchemen, and two Numidi-
ans to his brother Anniball with
letters, who passing al Italy, beryng that
Anniball should then be at Metapontus,
folowed hym thither: But ere they
were ware, they losse their waye, and
came to the fyelds of Tarent, where they
were taken, and sente to Claudius pers-
wade them, and knewe by the contentes
thereof, that Asdruball intended to mete
his brother in Umbria, thinkyng thāt to
be no tyme mete for the common welth,
to tarpe the determinacion of the senate:
he Imagyned, that he woulde enterpryse
some straunge thing, whereby he shoulde
put bothe the cizezens of Rome, and also
his enemyes in great feare. **W**nt at length,
when it was achieved, it shuld turne the
whole

The warres betwene the
enemies. **W**han it was day: lyghte, the
saide Numidians thewed them selues in
the gate of the campe for a season, pur-
posely to deceiue the Romaines: and whā
they sawe theyr time, they spedilye rode
after theyr corpany.

Whan the consulle, hearinge no noyse
in the tentes of his ennemys, sente two
light horsemen to viewe theyr campe, who
findinge it voyde of theyr ennemys, re-
toured to Claudius, certifyinge hym of
theyr departyng. **W**heropon he with his
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suche baggage as was there lefte: and
on the morowe earlye folowed the Car-
thaginenses, by the same that they heard
of their waye, by which they were gone.
Anniball, no more wyllynge to fyghte,
toke his waye euer in the nyght, and ouer
the mountaynes, till he came to Metapontus:
wher he toke of Hanno, the sonne
of Ioues, which were there lefte, and tog-
ged them to his armye, sendynge hym
with a smalle number wyth hym, into
the countrey of the Brutians, there
to assemble mo men of warre to
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Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 206

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ans to his brother Anibal with
letters, who passing al Italy, hering that
Anniball should then be at Metapontus,
folowed hym thither: **B**ut ere they
were ware, they losse their waye, and
came to the fyelds of Tarent, where they
were taken, and sente to Claudius Pers
with their letters. **W**ho whā he hadde
redde them, and knewe by the contentes
thereof, that Asdrubal intended to mete
his brother in Umbria, thinkynge thē to
be no tyme mete for the common welth,
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put bothe the cizens of Rome, and also
his enemies in great feare. **B**ut at length,
whē it was achieved, it shuld turne the
whole

The warres betwene the
whole citee from greate feare into mer-
uailous gladnesse. Wherefore he sente the
sayde letters to Rome, wyth other his
owne letters of hys intended enterpryse.
And incontinent sent messangers before
him, to all the townes and countreys, by
whiche he with his armye shoulde passe,
commaundynge thein to bryng forth into
the fieldes against his coming, vitayles,
horses, and other necessaries for his sould-
diours. When of hys whole armye he
chose out. vi. thousand footemen, and one
thous. horsemen: sayinge and publishinge,
that with them he intended to assault the
sicke towne of the Lucans, and to take
the Carthaginenses, whiche were there
lefte for the keepinge thereof. With this
companye in the nighte he departed, mak-
kyng as great haste as he myghte in hys
journey, to come to the healpe of his fel-
lowe Leuius, before he shoulde haue to do
with Asdruball: leauynge Quintus Fabius
in hys campe, to rule and gouerne
the rest of his hoste. At Rome the consuls
letters made all men no lesse asfearde,
than they were two yeres past, when the
Carthaginenses had pitched theyr tentes
before the walles of Rome.

They

Remaynes and the Carthaginensis. 207

They doubted, whether they myghte af-
fowe or disaffowe that bolde enterpryse
of the consul, whiche did appere to hange
all vpon chaunce. They knewe the campe
was lefte verie nere to Anniball, with an
armye dyspurpurped of a capitaine: yee and
the floure and strength of the same armye
was taken awaye with the Capytayne,
leauynge hys campe sure in nothyng,
but onely by the ignorance of hys enne-
mies, who were not pryuie as then of the
consulles absence. But what yf it hap-
ped to bee knowen, and that it chaunced
Anniball with hys whole armye, to af-
fowe Piero, hauynge wyth hym but. vi.
thousande footemen armed, and one. thous.
horsemen: or that he wold assaile the rest,
whiche were lefte in the campe, wythoute
strengthe or good gouernance. The euyl
chances, whiche they had before susteined
in the warres, with the late death of. ii.
consuls in one yere, increased theyr feare,
whiche all had happed to them, when
there was but one capytayne and one ar-
mye of their ennemyes in Italye. Howe
they knewe. ii. myghty armys. ii. valiant
capytaines, yee almoste. ii. Anniballes, to
be in the countrey. For Asdruball the
sonne

The warres betwene the
sonne also of Amilcar, hadde manie
peres in Spaine, made warre against the
Romans, where he had hadde two noble
victories, flegge two greate armies,
and also. ii. Scipions, the noble capitay-
nes of the same. Furthermoze, that he
might glory aboute Anniball, both of his
speedy passage ouer the mountaynes, and
also of drawynge with him the frenche-
men to bat taye. For euen where the one
had almoste losse the greater parte of his
men by hunger and cold (whiche two be
the greatest myseryes of warre): euen
there had the other gathered together a
great puissance. They rekened also, that
Claudius Nero shuld haue to do wth a wit-
ty capitaine, whom he knewe befoze had
mocked and illuded him in Spaine lyke a
child, wth deceiteful intretynge of condycions
of peace: whereby he escaped oute of the
straites, wherin he was indaungered.
Thus through feare (whych is thinter-
pretour of all thinges to the worst) they
estemed the power of theyr ennemyes to
be great, and their owne to be smal.

In the meane time Nero the consul, af-
ter he hadde so farre trauayled frome the
daunger of his ennemies, that he iudged
he

he myght safely discover his secrete enter-
pryse: he then called together his souldy-
ours, and spake vnto them sayng.

There was neuer any enterpryse taken
in hand by any capitaine, whiche was in
apparence moze bolde, and in effect moze
sure then this was. For I will now bring
you (sayde he) to a certaine and sure victo-
rye. For we goe to a battayle, for the
whiche my felowe Leuius had befoze as
manie footemen and horsenmen appoynt-
ed hym of the senate, as he wolde desire.
Ye suche a number as he wolde not haue
desyred a greater, if he should haue bene
appointed to fight with Anibal him selfe:
and now, by the same of the comming of
the other consul, with his armye, beyng
ioyned to the other: we shall not fayle
to haue an vndoubted victorye. For same
is the thinge that geueth victorye in bat-
taye. Ye small things oft times do giue the
bertes and myndes of men, eyther in to
feare or into a good hope. And the hole
glorye and honoure of all the good speede
shalbe geuen to vs. For euer that, whiche
cometh last, draweth al the honour to it.
With this comfort he led them forwarde
on theyr waye, passing by a greate mul-
titude

The warres betwene the
titute of men and women of the countrey
that came forth to mete them with great
faueur and praise geuinge: naming them
the patrons and defendours of the com-
mon welthe, and of the whole empyre of
Rome, in whose hands then lay the helth
welth and lybertee, bothe of theim and of
their children. Wherfore they prayed vnto
the gods for theyr prosperous retourne
with victorie and triumphe. And in declar-
inge theyr loue towarde thei souldy-
ours, they offered theim cattel, bytayles,
and other necessary thynges, whych they
hertely desyred them to take at their plea-
sure. And they on the other side, thank-
fully receiuyng that they neded, went on
theyr way, eatyng whan they were hun-
gry, and but seldome toke anye reste, tyll
they came nere to the campe of the other
consull. M. Linius. When sent Claudius
messangers to his selouie, aduertysyng
hym of hys comyng, to knowe his mind,
whether it were best for him and his com-
pany, to come to hym pryuelye or openly,
in the nyghte tyme or in the daye: and
whether he should enter into hys campe,
or make an other campe for hym selfe and
his army: Linius answered, that best it
was,

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was, he entered into his camps secretlye,
in the night. For the more suerty where-
of, he gaue a priue watche worde or to-
ken, whereby one tribune should receiue
an other, one centurio or hundredoure an
other, one horseman an other, and one
footeman should receiue an other. And it
was thought, y there was space ynough
in the fyrst campe, to receiue him and his
companye, sente those that came with
Claudius Pero brought litle more with
them, but onely theyr armour, for the spe-
dinesse of theyr way. Linius tentes were
then pyched nere to Sena, and Abdru-
ball rested not past halfe a myle thence.
When Pero approached, he couered hym
with mountaynes and hilles, till it was
nyghte. When keepyng great silence, they
entred the campe of Linius, and were e-
uerie man brought into the tentes by his
like officer, wher they were friendly and
gentilly receiued, wyth great ioye & glad-
nesse. L. Porcius the pretor had his camp
loyning to the campe of the consull.
The day folowynge they counsayled what
was best then to be done. Some gaue ad-
uise, that Pero wyth his companye, be-
ynge wearye, should reste theyr certayne
dayes

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was best then to be done. Some gaue ad-
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C e. dayes

The warres betwene the
Dayes, & that the battaile should be differ-
red tyl they were fully refreſhed of their
longe trauaile: & in the meane time to
knowe the maner of theyr enemies. But
Mero would in no wyſe agree thereto, he
inſtantly deſyred the ſo to worke, that his
ſecrete enterpriſe: whiche by his ſwifte
comynge thither was made ſure, ſhoulde
not by their longe tarienge be made ſoo-
lyſhe and voyde. For Anniball being de-
ceiued, kepeth him cloſe in his tentes not
knowing of my comynge hyther, nor of
the vnſure leauing of mine armye in my
campe: but this deſepte can not longe be
hyd. With ſpede making Aſdruball and
his hoſte may be ouerthrowen, er euer I
departe: and then may I with like ſpede
re tourne to my compaignie into Apulia.
But who ſo by prolonginge of the tyme,
gyueth ſpace to his enemies, he cauſeth
my campe in Apulia, to be deliuered to
Anniball, and openeth the waye for him
to come hither to be ioyned to his brother
Aſdruball at his pleaſure. Wherefore in-
continent let vs go to battaile: and ther-
by both our ennemyes that be abſente in
apulia, and alſo thoſe that be here pre-
ſent at hande, ſhalbe deceyued: the other
by

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by thinkynge our nymbre there to be no
leſſe then it was, and theſe by thinkynge
your nymbre to be nothing encreaſed.
After theſe earneſt wordes of Claudius,
they departed from the counſaile, and e-
uery man armed him ſelfe, and were put
in good order of battaile. The Carthagi-
nienſes alſo were alreadye come oute of
theyr campe, and ſtoode in array readye to
fyght, & both the armies had without tar-
ryeng gone together, had not Aſdruball
for a ſeaſon cauſed his compaignie to ſtaye
He with certayne other hoſemen in his
compaignie rode before his hooſte: where he
perceyued amonges the Romaynes to be
manye olde ſhieldes, whiche he had not
ſene before. Alſo he marked manye carrie
and ouer laboured hoſes. He thought al-
ſo the nymbre of his enemies was grea-
ter then it was wont to be. Wherefore ha-
uing a miſtruſt of y, which in dede was
true, he blew the retreat. And inconti-
nent ſente certayne of his men to the ry-
uer where y Romaine hoſes were wa-
ſhed to eſpie & mark whether any of their
hoſes were diſcoloured by daſhing with
myre of the way, or with duſte, whereby
they might appere to be of late iourneied
C. ii. 128

He also caused some other to ride a farre of about theyr campes, to se, whether the trench that environed the campe, were enlarged any whyt or not. Furthermore to marke whether the trumpet did sound ones or two times within the campe of the Romaynes. Bothynge deceived him so much, as when word was brought hym, that the campes were nothing enlarged: but that there were but twayne as was before, one of Aulus consull, the other of L. Porcius: and neyther of them altered other wise then they first were. Neuerthelesse it troubled him sore, being a wyse man and much used to warres with the Romaynes, when it was shewed him, that the trumpette blew but ones in the pretors campe: but in the other it blew two times: wherefore he iudged surely, that both the consuls were there. Whereupon he beganne to muse, howe the other Consull should be departed from his brother Anniball. He could not deuise the thinge as it was, that his brother was so illuded by the departinge of the capitaine from his campe, whiche was not farre of, with part of his power. He iudged, y he had sustained some great

losse:

losse: whereby he durst not folowe the consull. Wherefore he feared greatly, lest what was lost before, he was come to late to his brother with succours. He also mistrusted, y his letters neuer came to Anniballes handes, but that they, with his messengers, were taken by by the way: vpon the sight whereof the other consull was come with haste to vanquish hym also. Being in this great perplexite, he caused all the fiers to be put out, & euery man to trusse by his stuffe and baggage, & in the beginning of the night, he with his hole host departed secretly, folowing two guides. Who had not far gone with them, but partly for feare, and partly being troubled with the rumour of the armye, tooke no good heede to their waye: wherefore they secretly slipped away, leauing the without a guide. Some wandered abroad in the fieldes, some being weary & overmatched, laid the downe to slepe and to rest them, leauing their standerdes. When the day appered, Asdrubal caused his standerdes to go before the host along the side of the riuer of Metaurus, seeking for fordes where he might passe ouer: but the further he went by the riuer, the hie

Ce. iii.

the

The warres betwene the
were the banks. Thus wandering still
after the crokes & tournings of the bāke
seeking a place of passage: he spent a great
parte of the daye in waste, whereby the
Romaynes had gotten time and space to
solowe them. First Pero with his horse-
men overtoke the: son e after came Luc-
ius Porcius with his light harnessed mē.
They slewe manye of Asdruballes folke,
that abode behinde in the fieldes to rest
them. Asdrubal seing no remedy to escape
sought for some hill by y^e river syde wher-
on he might lodge his hoste. By y^e tyme
was Liuius also come with al his power
of sotemen armed & in good array. When
ioyninge theyr companies together they
put euerye man in order. Claudius Pero
ledde the ryght wyng, Liuius kepte the
lefte wyng, Porcius the pzetoz came in
the middell warde.

When Asdruball sawe no remedy, but
that he muste needes fyghte, he lefte the
fortifying of his campe, and put his peo-
ple in arraye. In the forefront he set his
Elephantes: about them on the left hand
agaynst Claudius Pero the consull, he
set his frenchmen: not for that he trusted
to theym muche him selfe, but because he
thought

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thought his enemies feared them most.
The ryght wyng he kept him selfe with
his Spanyardes, his olde men of warre,
in whom his most trust was. The Ligu-
rians, men of a countrey of Italye, were
set in the middell behynde the elephantes
There was a greate byll betwene the
frenchmen and Claudius Pero: so that
he by no meanes with his hoste, myghte
come to fight with them. Wherefore they
stode still a good space without doyng
of any thyng. But betwene Asdruball
and Liuius fyerce and mortall was the
fyght. There were the great nombie of
Romayne footemen agaynst the multi-
tude of Spanyardes his expert warriours
and also agaynst the Liguriens, whiche
were very strong and balliaunt men.
The elephantes also dydde at the fyrrst
much displeasure. Claudius seynge that
he could not haue to do with the french-
men, tourned aboute his compaignie, and
fetchinge a compasse came on the other
side of Asdruballs armye. Then were
the Spanyardes and the liguriens slaine
on all partyes, and the fyghte was al-
ready come to the frenchmen who were
able

able to make smal resistance: for many of their company were shonken away and feble for labour, & ouerwatching, as they they be a people that can not well alwaye with paine. Manye of theym were there slaine. Many also of the elephantes were slayne by the Romaines, but mo by their owne rulars that rode vpon them. For after they were ones stricken and affeard the beastes were so vnruyle, and dyd so muche hurte to their owne Carthaginenses hoste: that theyr owne keepers and ryders slewe them.

Asdruball, like a full noble capitayne, handeled him selfe in that battayle, sometime fighting valiantly in his owne person, sometime exhorting his men manfully to fyghte sometyme he desyred his weary souldiours to take some payne for him, and for their owne liues, sometyme he rebuked theyr sluggishenes. And if any began to flee, he anon brought them backe to the battaile, and restored againe the fielde, whiche in diuers places was flaked. At the last, whē he sawe no helpe but that without remedy he must lose the fielde, not myndynge to liue after so great a slaughter, of his men and cryen-

des

des, whyche for his sake vndertoke that voyage: he ranne his horse with the spurs into the myddel of the Romaine host, where to declare the noble valoure of his stomacke, of whome he was descended, lyke the sonne of Amilcar, and brother to Annibal, he valyantlye foughte, and fightinge was slayne. Greate was the slaughter of the Carthaginenses in that battayle: so that it was thought equall to the Romaynes losse at Cannas, as well for the number of men slayne, as for the losse of the capitaynes. There was of Asdruballes hoste in this battayle slayne six and fiftye thousande men, and there were. v. thousande and foure hundred taken prysoners. The praye at the spoyle was greate, both of golde and syluer, and also of the Romaine prysoners, which before Asdrubal had taken. Of whyche Romaine prysoners, there were founde above. liii. M. The Romaines losse in this battayle almoste. viii. M. men. On the morowe woorde was brought to Liuius, that those frenchemen and Licures, whiche were left on liue at the battaile the day before, were now assembled together againe, and went away without any capitaine

The warres betwene the
pitaine or kepyn g good order, so that they
might none be al slaine, if he wolde sende
but one wyng of horseme to pursue them.
Not so sayde Liuius, we will suffer some
of oure ennemies to escape, whych shall
remayne and be messangers, both of the
distruction of oure ennemyes, and also of
our noble honour and prowesse.

Claudius Nero, the night after the bat-
taille foughten, departed with his compa-
ny agayne toward his owne campe, ma-
king so muche haste in his retourne, that
the first day folowing he was come to his
owne campe, and to the frontiers of his
ennemy Anniball, he made suche speede,
that no messenger was come thither be-
fore hym, which had brought any newes
of the victorie. Wherefore his personall
comminge, with the sodaine declaracyon
of theyr good speede, caused so greate ioye
and gladnes in the Romayne armie, as
thoughe an heauenlye comforte had bene
sente theym after an extreme doloure.
At Rome also, whā newes were brought
of their prosperous successe, suche ioy was
made, as can not well be expressed.
For after Claudius departinge toward
his felowe, from the sonne risinge to the
sonne

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sonne setting, the senators neuer depar-
ted from the senate house: neither wente
the citezens out of the market place. The
marrones of the cite were in continu-
all prayers: so that with theyr clamoure,
pylgremages, and bowes, their goddes
were all weryed. But whan the certai-
tee of the victorie, the greate occasyon of
theyr enemyes, with the death of the Ca-
pytaine, was broughte theym by the le-
gates of the consules: theyr suspended
hope was sodaynelye tourned into a per-
fekte ioye, whiche passed measure. Then
began the marchauntes to bye, to sell, to
pay, to receiue, and to make all maner of
contractes, as they were wonte to doe in
time of peace.

Claudius the consulle, retourninge
from the battaille, brought with hym the
heade of Hasdruball: whych at his
synne compynge, he caused to be throwen
before the entree of Anniballes campe.
He also caused the Affricanes, whi-
che he hadde taken prysoners in the bat-
taille, bounden as they were, to bee sette
before his campe: to the entente his
ennemyes myghte see them. And for the
more encrease of Anniballes sorowe,
he

he losed two of his sayde Affricanes prys-
soners, commaundynge theim to goe to
Annibal, and to declare vnto hym, the or-
der of all thynges as they hadde beene
doone in the battaile, where with he was
so stricken with sorow, both for the losse of
so greate nountber of men of his brothers
armie, as also for the losse of hys friends
and familiars, that he sayd, he knew full
well, what shoulde be the fortune and fa-
tall chaunce of Carthage within shorte
space. Wherevpon he remoued into the
fieldes of the Brutians. And for that he
had no power lefte hym of men, to defend
his fortresses, that yet helde being so far
of: he gathered togyther all the Metapom-
tanes and the Lucanes, such as were his
friends: and broughte theim all into the
countrey of the Brutians, where he re-
mayned for a season, counsaylynge what
were best for him to doe.

¶ Scipio in dyuers battayles discomfitech the
Carthaginenses, taketh Hanno on liue, dy-
ueth Hasdrubal and Mago, with all their
power, cleane out of Spayne.

Cap. liii.



In Spaine betwene the Ro-
maines and the Carthagi-
nenses thus was the coun-
trei deuoyded. Asdrubal, the
sonne of Gylgon, was dy-
uen with hys company in-
to the uttermost parte of Spayne, and to
the ples called the Gades. The rest of the
countrey eastwardes, was vnder the do-
minion of the Romayns, enlesse it were
berpe feire citis, whiche were kepte by
the Affricanes: to whose succours Hanno
a new capitaine was sente from Affrica,
with a new armye, in stede of Asdrubal,
that was slayne. This Hanno hadde also
bryed a great nountber of men of warre in
Celtiberia. With this great hoste he ioy-
ned to Mago. Agaynst whome Scipio
sent. M. Sillanus, with. x. M. footemen,
and. v. C. horsenien And he passynge the
hie hilles, and manifold daungerous pas-
sages and crastes of Spaine, made suche
spede, that by the guiding of certaine run-
nawayes of Celtiberia he came within ten
myle of his enemies, before anye know-
ledge was had, or anye fame was bruted
of his commynge. Where he stode for a sea-
son, till he had by the saide runnawayes es-
spies

The warres betwene the
espies knoweledge, that his ennemyes
were lodged in. ii. campes: the Celtiberi-
ens on the left hand of the hie waye, and
were to the number of. ix. M. souldiours
the Carthaginenses were on the ryghte
hande. Scyllanus fyrste assailed the
Celtiberiens: who by the meanes of Ma-
go, were soone put in order. The bat-
taye endured sore for a season: and some-
what the longer, by meanes of resorte
of the Carthaginenses, whiche came
frome the other campe to the helpe of
the Celtiberiens. At the laste Mago se-
inge bys partie like to bee putte to the
worste, wyth two thousande footemen,
and the wholle power of horsemeune,
that were lefte on lyue, fled vnto the Car-
des, and came to Hasdrubal.

Hanno, the other capytayne, was taken
on lyue: with many other noble prisoners

Soone after the battaye with Hanno,
Cornelius Scipio departed to Tarracon
leauynge in that countrey. L. Scipio
his brother, with ten thousand footemen,
and one thousande horsemen, who after
his brothers departing with this power,
assaulted the towne of Dzingin: not with-
out peine. For they scarfelye were suffer-

red

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red to put their scaling ladders to the wal-
les: so greate was the violence of the dar-
tes and other ingins, whiche were throw-
ne at the. And so soone as any were raised
by ther vnto, and men thereon, stryving to
ascend: anon they were eyther throwen
downe, men and all by the souldiours of
the towne, hauinge forks made for that
purpose, or els they were in ioperdye to
be drawen vp ladders men and al, by rea-
son of iron hokes that were throwen vpon
the ladders, taking such sure hold on
them, that the climbers were oftentimes
pulled by farre frome the grounde, and
hanged longe by the roundes of the lad-
ders. Thus continued the assault very long,
and was verie fiers and daungerous on
bothe partes. When had Scipio deuised
his host in thre partes, to the intente one
parte shuld euer assault the towne, while
the other rested. Wherfore he commaun-
ded those, whiche were at the fyrste as-
saute, to withdraue to their tentes, and
rest them: & incontinente with other two
partes of his freshe souldiours, he gaue
a new assault on two parts of the towne
so that the defendours, beyng wery with
the long susteyning the fyrst assault.

and

The warres betwene the
and also sore affrayde, as desperate, lea-
tyng the walles, withdrew theim: wher-
vpon the towne was wonne, and greate
occasion made of people of all kyndes and
ages.

When tidings of this noble act was
broughte to. P. Scipio the capitayne, he
greatly praysed his brother, doyng to him
as much honour as he myght. And after
sent hym to Rome, to beare newes to the
senate of theyr speede, wyth hym also he
sent Hanno the capitayne of the Cartha-
ginenses, and dyvers other noble prys-
oners, that were befoze by them taken.

Asdrubal the sonne of Gylgon: and Ma-
go the sonne of Amilcar, desyring to re-
dress the harmes, and to recouer theyr
losses, desyring to redresse theyr harmes
losses, gathered together of theyr riends
in Spaine, and ofhyed souldiours, an
huge armie, to the number of. l. M. foote
men, and. iiii. M. v. C. horsemen: and
came to the towne of Silpia, where in
the plaine fyeldes they pitched their
camps.

P. Scipio, heyring of theyr great armie,
assembled all his men lyke wyse: and to
be moze able to encountre with his enner-
myes,

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mies, he sente Silanus to Colchas, the
kinge and ruler ouer. xxviii. citties and
townes: of whom he had. iii. M. footmen
and. v. C. horsemen. He had in his army
when he came to Betula, xlv. M. of horse
men and footmen. Certayne dayes af-
ter theyr meeting there were skirmyshes
and iustes betwene the horsemen and
the lyght footmen of both the armyes.
At the laste they both descended into the
fyeldes with all theyr powers in good or-
der of battayle. The middel wardes kept
the Romaynes on the one side, and the
Carthaginenses and the Affricanes on
the other side: the wynges of both the par-
ties were of spaniards and hyed souldi-
ours. Thus stood they ready to be bat-
taye, till it was nyght, withoute furthe
stryking: & even so they did certayne dayes
folowynge: So that ever it was bated in
both armies, that the middle wardes
should be still of the Romaynes and Car-
thaginenses, where the greate strength
was, and where that most noble and ex-
pert men of warre were: betwene whom
also rested the cause and chiefe ground of
the warre. Scipio bringe aduertysed that
his enemies trusted and beleued that this
ff. order

The warres betwene the
order should be kepte still in the battayle:
agaynst the daye, wherein he thought to
fright, he chaunged al his order. First in
the eveninge before, he commaunded all
his horsemen, before the dawning of the
day to eat some meate, and then to be ar
med, and euerie one of them to haue his
horse also made ready for the battayle.
Which his commaundemente they dis
gently accomplished. When Scipio so soone
as the day appered, caused al his horseme
with light armour, to invade the station
or campe of the Carthaginenses: and he
with the rest of his hole hoste folowed in
good arraye, but otherwise ordered, then
either his enemies or his owne company
looked for. For he put his Romaines in
the winges, and in the middle he put all
strangers & hired souldiours. Asdrubal,
hearing the great noyse of the Romaine
horsemen, with the sodaine rumour and
fear of his owne men, ranne out of his
tente. And when he percepued all the sel
des garnished with his enemies, he sent
forth anon his horsemen against the Ro
maine horsemen: and soone after he him
selfe with all his footemen came forth of
his campe keeping the same order that he
had

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had done certayne dayes before, without
chaunging any parte thereof. The bat
tyle betwene the horseme endured long,
but when the host of footemen were with
in a mile together: scipio caused his horse
men to withdraue theym selues, whom
he deuided then in two parts, and caused
to stande behinde the two winges, to be
euer ready for theyr ayde and succoure.
Polve was his middell wardes mosse of
Spaniards: whom he commaunded to
marche forwarde, not fast, but a soft pace
Then sent he a messenger to Sillanus,
& Martius, who gouerned the left wing,
charging them to make speede forwarde
on theyr partes, in like manner as they
saue him do, with the right wing, which
he led him selfe, so y the winges mighte
be syghting a good space before the mid
dell wardes shoulde mete. In this order
they wente forwarde, spreauinge theyr
wynges, and makinge a great bolome in
the middell of their hoste. For the Span
iards in the middell wente a much softer
pace then the winges: whereby the win
ges were alreadye come to strookes and
fought a long space, before that the Afri
cans and Carthaginenses (in who rested
the

The warres betwene the
the great strength of theyr enemies) were
come to any stroke striking. Agayne, to
bende to any part of the winges to helpe
theyr felowes that fought, they durst not
least they shoulde open theyr battayle to
theyr ennemys whiche came directlye
vpon them. By this meanes the winges
were anon overcome, and driuen into
the middell warde: and no meruayle. For
the ponge and the hired souldiours of
Spayne, were matched with the stronge
and olde warriors of the Romaynes,
and the latines. Agayne, Asdrubals men
were so sodaynely taken in the morninge
that they had no time to receyue anye sus-
tenaunce before the battayle. Where-
fore whan the day was somewhat spent,
they wared faynt and feble. And for that
intent Scipio purposely tractred and pro-
longed the tyme, before the middell war-
des shoulde meete: to the ende the heate of
the sonne towards the middell of the day,
with the long standing in harness, & lack
of meate and drinckes, shoulde take from
thē both their strength & courage. Thus
they being weare and adrayled both be-
fore with the middell warde, and also on
the sides with the Romaine winges,
were

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were constrained to recule. Whiche they
did a great while, keeping still good order
in theyr withdrauing: for Asdrubal con-
tinually cried to them, and thereto exhor-
ted them sayeng: If they would by a litel
and litell withdraue them, they shoulde
get the mountaines, which were at their
backes: and then they should be sure oute
of the daunger of theyr ennemys. But
at the laste, seinge them selues overcome
and so many of theyr compaigne slaine on
all partes: their feare overcame shame.
Wherefore with great slaughter they fled
to theyr campe. The Romaynes pursued
them fast, and had taken theyr camp and
tentes, hadde not a vehement storme of
rayne sodainely come vpon them, wyth
such violence, that euery man was glad
to gette him to his owne tente and pa-
uilion.

The Carthaginenses although the
nyght drewe fast on thē, beyng very sore
wounded and wet with the rayne (wher-
by they had necessarye occasions of slepe
& rest) yet were they so afrayed, that they
ceased not stil to strengthen & to fortifye
theyr campe with ditches and stones whi-
che they gathered in all partes aboute
them
F. l. iii.

The warres betwene the
the: trusting more to the strength thereof
then to their armour. When many of the
hyed souldiours of the hoste of the Car-
thaginenses lefte Asdruball, and came to
Scipio. Diuers strong townes also were
deliuered vp to him: wyth all the garr-
sons, which were left in the. Wherefore
Asdruball thinkinge him selfe more sure
by fleing then by his abidinge, secretlye
departed from thens in the nyght.

¶ Scipio in the morninge beinge aduert-
sed of the departing of his enemies, sente
his hortenie before: and he him selfe with
his armye sodaynely folowed them: The
horsemen at lengthe ouertoke them, and
made so many skirmishes with the, that
therby they were stayed till theyr hole ar-
mye of footemen ouertoke them. When
was there great occision made of theym
wyth smal resistance. And Asdrubal with
vii. M. men with him, was fayne to flee
to the nerte hye mountayne, where they
encamped the selues, and were safe from
anye daunger or hurt that coulde be done
them. Sone after he slipped from thens,
and stole to the sea, whiche was not farre
of: wher he toke shipping him selfe, with
Mago and a fewe with him, and went to
the

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the isles beyonde the furthest parte of
Spayne called Gades, leauing the moche
parte of his menne behinde him at theyr
owne aduenture, to prouide for them sel-
ues. Parte of them went to the Romans
parte to such cities as were then remay-
ninge in the dominion of the Carthagy-
nenses.

Scipio, after the dyuinyng away of Asdru-
ball and his compagne, willing utterlye
to expell all the Carthaginenses oute of
Spayne, laide syege to Illiturgus: which
after long trauail he won with force, and
caused his men to slea all that euer they
found on lyue, man, woman, and chyld.
And after they set the towne on fyre, and
thetwee do wone the walles to the earthe,
that the place whych had bene the chiefe
receptacle of theyr ennemies, myghte be
clearlye defaced, and the memorie ther-
of aboished for euer. Fro thens he went
toward Castulo wyth his armie.

The capytayne thereof fearynge the cru-
eltee of the Romaynes, yelded the towne
to theym, wyth the Carthaginenses also
that were therein. Ascapa also a stronge
towne was won by Martius & broughte
in subiection, wyth all other townes,
cities,

The warres betwene the
citties and fortreſſes that the Carthagoy
nienſes befoze helde. Thus were they
clerely expelled out of Spayne, the. xiii.
yeare after the warres fyrſte began, and
the. v. yere after that Scipio was appoin
ted by the ſenate to be capitayne of the
armye, and was aſſigned to warre in
Spayne as his prouince.

C. M. Liuius, and **C.** Nero the conſulles entred
the citee of Rome in triumphe. I prayſe
of Anniballes gouernynge his
army. Ca. lv.

Nowe let vs retourne to Mar
cus Liuius the Conſull, that
after the great victoꝛye had by
him and his ſelowes Claudius
Nero, againſt the other olde Aſdrubal, in
the frontiers of Italye, as is befoze decla
red. He ſent **M.** Fabius Vari. to Rome
to the ſenatours, aduertifying the, that he
thought the army which **L.** Porcius the
pretor had there, was ſufficient ynough
foꝛ the keepynge of that prouince: So that
(if they thought it beſt) he and his armye
might be well be ſpared there. To whom
the ſenatours aunſwered, that they
willed

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willed hym to come hym ſelfe to Rome
with his army, and that Claudius Nero
his ſelow ſhoulde alſo mete him the ſame
time at Rome, leauynge hys hoſte wyth
good capitaines to kepe the countrey ſtill
againſt Annibal.

Upon this decree of the ſenate the con
ſulles wrote letters eyther to other, and
agreed, that lyke as they had wyth one
good wyl and minde gouerned and defen
ded the cuntrey, durynge the tyme of theyꝛ
office: euen ſo now they ſhuld both at one
time come into y citee of Rome, although
they came from dyuers partes. Where
foze it was agreed, that whoſoever of the
came firſte to the citee of Pzenest, ſhoulde
there tary the comming of hys ſelowes.
Accoꝛdynge to the appointements, there
they mette bothe in one daye: and frome
thence they ſente meſſangers to the citee,
deſyringe the ſenatours to mete them in
the houſe of Bellona the goddeſſe of war,
the third day folowynge. Where were they
receiued with a great multitude bothe of
ſenatours and of citezens wyth goodlye ſa
lutacions and greate thankses foꝛ theyꝛ
politike gouernance of their countrey: by
whoſe helpe and dexteritie the common
wylth

The warres betwene the
welth was nobly preserved & aduanced.
Some after they were brought into the se-
nate: there accordinge to the olde custome
of conquerours, they declared their noble
actes, whych they hadde achieved for the
common welth of the citee of Rome: and
for the same despyed, sayde that honoure
might be giuen to the immortall goddes:
and then that they might wyth triumphe
enter the citee. Which they request was
graunted them. As touchinge the maner
of theyr entryng in triumphe, it was ap-
pointed, that they shuld not come in seue-
rallye but together, as they vanquished
their enemies together. They agreed also
betwene them selues, that bycause y vic-
tory was had in the prouince of M. Livi-
us, & also because Liviuss army was come
to Rome wth him, where Piero hys holse
could in no wise be brought thither, ther-
fore shoulde Liviuss ride in a chariot, and
his souldiours in order to folow him: Pe-
ro shuld ryde by hym on horsebacke with-
out any of his souldiours to folowe hym.
Claudius was contented to geue the ho-
nour to his felow: by which his gentleness
he w^{as} much the more honoure & prayse.
For euerye man sayde of hym, that he on
horse

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horsebacke in. vi. daies had ridden y lēgth
of all Italye, & had fought wth Asdrubal
in the borders of Fraunce, what time An-
nibal iudged him to be in Apulia. So that
his onely name was able to kepe Anni-
bal lurking in his campe, and his onely
comming was the cause of the victory a-
gainst Asdrubal. wherfore (sayd they) ride
the one cōsul neuer so high in his chariot,
yet the other cōsul, that rode but on horse-
backe, was worthy of the very triumph.
Pe although Piero dyd go but on his fote
yet was he worthy of glozy and fame per-
petuall. With these prayses they folowed
Piero into the capitol y palaice in Rome
where they presented muche money of
theyr gayne, and that was put into the
treasury. On the morow both the consuls
and also the horsemen, praised muche. L.
Acturius, and M. Cecilius, desirynge
that they myght, for y next yere folowing
be chosen consuls. Whiche at the nexte
election was done, and bothe the appoin-
ted wth. ii. consuls armyes, to kepe war
agaynst Anniball. After all thynges
were putte in good order, they depar-
ted from the citee, & wente into the coun-
trei of the Lucanes, and in shorte tyme
they

The warres betwene the
they had broughte all that countrey into
subiection. With Annibal there was lit-
tel done. For he offered not hym selfe to
gyue battayle, he was so dyscouraged
with the losse of his brother, his frendes
and his souldiours. On the other parte,
the consules thoughte it not beste to pro-
uoke him to battayle: sens they founde in
him no surrynge. So muche they feared
and esteemed the valoure of that noble ca-
pitayne: to whome this prayse is gyuen,
that no man could iudge in him, whether
he were moze to be commended in tyme
of prosperitee, or in tyme of aduersytee.
For who woulde not wonder to see, that
he maynteyned the warre so farre from
his countrey by the ful space of thyeeteene
peres, in the lande of his ennemyes, ha-
uynge his armie not of his owne citee or
countrey, but gathered together of many
nacions, which lyued not vnder one ma-
ner of lawe, neither hadde one custome or
language, but minche differente in appa-
rayle, armour, customes, ceremonies, y^e
they had all seuerall goddes. Yet dyd he
so gouerne theim all, and knitte them to-
gether all in suche amptye, that no man
coulds iudge or know of anye dyscencyon
betwene

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betwene theim, or insurrection agaynst
theyr capytaines, although diuerse times
he lacked to paye them theyr wages, and
also vitayles for theyr sustenance: by the
lacke whereof, in other warres much in-
conuenience hath ensued. Againe after
the death of Asdrubal, and his armie, in
whome was all his truste, whan all Ita-
lye was taken from hym, saue onelye the
countrey or corner of the Brutians: who
would not wonder to see no rebellyon a-
mongest his owne men: Consyderynge
that bytayles hadde they not, but onelye
from that lyttell angle of the Brutians,
whych yf it hadde bene wholly tilled and
sowed, hadde not bene able to susteyne so
greate an armie. Neuerthelesse, a greate
parte thereof was vntilled, part for feare
of the Romaynes, and theyr friendes,
partely for that the most part of the yong
men of the countrey were taken to the
warres, whych were before wente to tyll
and manure the ground for husbandrye.
These thynges (I say) conferred together
it wll make al men to muse how he could
so quietly gouerne his great hoste, and to
prayse greatly his wyse conduct therein.
Scipio

The warres betwene the
Scipio and Asdrubal arrive both in one day
in Africa, and be lodged both together in the
pallays of kynge Syphax.

Cap. lvi.

After the departing of P. Scipio to Tarracon, the Carthaginenses beyng driven out of Spaine, Massanissa, seinge the great fal of his frendes the Carthaginenses, secretely had communicacion wyth Sillanus, and was wonne to be a sure frende to the Romaynes. Whereupon to have hys frendes in Africa the more obedient and redy to him in all his necessities, he appointed to saile over into his countrey, there to make hym selfe as stronge as myght be, for the ayde and succour of the Romaynes when nede required. And Sillanus soone after retourned to Scipio to Tarracon.

Then P. Scipio, willinge to certifie the senate of his great victorie and happy chaunces, sente his brother, L. Scipio to Rome, as is before rehearsed, who ledde with hym manye noble men prysoners, whom he hadde before taken in the warres: wherupon he was mercifully honoured

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noured and praysed of all men. Yet he alone, that had deserved all the sayde honour, esteemed all hys feates done in Spaine, to be nothinge in comparyson of those thynges whych he had conceived in his mynde. He looked for the conqueste of great Carthage and Africa, as the ende of hys warre, and the consumacyon of hys honour and gloze. Wherefore, to worke in time all things, that afterwarde should serve for his purpose, he determined to winne vnto hym the hartes of prynces, whiche were borderars vnto that countrey. And first he mynded to attempt kynge Syphax.

This Syphax was kynge of a people in Africa, called Masili, adioynyng to the Moors, and lyng on the other syde of the sea Mediterrane, over agaynst the Carthage in Spaine, who at that tyme was a great frind to the Carthaginenses. To hym he sent C. Aelius, with a goodly present: where with the king was very gladde and well pleased. And consideringe in hys mynde the good fortune, which the Romane had in al partes, and seynge the power of hys olde frendes the Carthaginenses to bee so greatlye

The warres betwene the
 Ipe decayed, that in Italy they had no more
 lyttell to doe, and in Spayne nothyng.
 He agreed with Lelius to become a friend
 to the Romaynes. But he sayde, he wolde
 no further procede to the confirmation of
 the amitie betwene them, tyll he myghte
 personally speake with Scipio, the chiefe
 capitaine of the Romaynes. Whereupon
 Lelius takynge assurance of hym, for
 the sake goynge and comynge of his ca-
 pitaine, retourned to Scipio, and declar-
 ed vnto hym, howe he had spedde, as is
 before declared. Scipio iudgyng his friend
 shippe to be a great helpe & furtheraunce
 to his purpose, touchynge his desyrous
 affayres in Affrica, bothe for his greate
 strengthe and rychesse, and also for that
 his countrey was adioynynge to Car-
 thage, directly ouer agaynst Spaine, lea-
 nyng Lucius Martius at Tarracon, and
 Sillanus at newe Carthage, wyth a po-
 wer sufficiente for the defence of Spayne
 he wyth Lelius in two galeys or rowbar-
 ges of syue oores a piece, passed ouer into
 Affrica.

Nowe it happened, that euen the same
 tyme Asdrubal, who of late had bene drey-
 uen oute of Spayne: was newlye arrived
 in

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In the same haven, with fouen galeys, &
 casting theyr ankers, dreyue as neere the
 shore as they could. Asdrubal, perceyving
 the other two galeys or rowbarges of sei-
 pios, comming towards the same haven
 knewe ful wel they were the vessels of
 his enemies. Wherefore not doubtyng
 but that they bringe so fewe in number,
 myghte easelye be oppressed and banquy-
 shed before they should get the haven, he
 commaunded his folkes to weye vp the
 ankers, and to make them ready to sette
 forth wyth all speede. But the other, ha-
 uynge good wynde to theyr furtheraunce,
 entred the haven before the galeys of As-
 drubal myght get oute, suche ruffelynge
 noyse and litell shyfte was made by his
 men. Wherefore when the Romaynes
 hadde ones gotten the kynges haven, no
 man durste be so bolde to meddle wyth
 them.

Thus went the two capitaynes on land
 first Asdrubal, and then Scipio with Le-
 lius, and both went to the kynges palace
 whose comming did vnto Siphax greate
 honour. For it was neuer before seene,
 that the gouernours of the ii. most noble
 seignories, that were in those dayes in

§ §.

all

The warres betwene the
the world, came euer to his palace vpon
one daye to desyre his amitie and peace.
The king right gentilly receyued them
bothe, and sens their chaunces were to
mete both at one time in his house: he did
what he mighte, to bringe theym both to
communication, trustinge thereby to ap-
pease al stryfe and discorde for any mat-
ter, that had bene betwene them. But
that Scipio refused to do, affirming, that
there was no priuate matter of displea-
sure betwene hym and Asdrubal, which
by communication or hearinge of freyn-
des, neded to be determined. Neyther
was there any thing touchinge the com-
mon wealth of his countrey wherein he
myghte trauaile or intreate, onlesse it
were by speciall auctoritee or commaun-
dement of the whole senate. When the
kinge made great instance to Scipio,
seynge they were bothe his guests at
ones, that he would be contented to be so
ordered, that he myght not haue cause to
erpell any of them both from his table.
Scipio, at the kynges requeste, was not
onely contented to sytte wyth Asdrubal
at one table, but also, for the kynges plea-
sure, he laye in the same bedde that he
did

dyd.

For Scipio was naturally of such dexter-
riter, and so conforable to reason, that
thereby he not onely wanne the hearte of
Syphax: but also he broughte his moste
mortal enemy Asdrubal in more admy-
ration of him, after he had seene his con-
uersation, than euer he did before, for a-
ny acte that euer he dyd. Whereupon he
beganne than to coniecture and to iudge
that Syphax, wyth all his myghte was
become friende to the Romaynes. Suche
pollicie he deemed Scipio to haue in win-
ninge the heartes of men. And then he
beganne to deuise, that it was necessary
for the Carthaginenses, to consulte a-
monge theym selues, not howe Spayne
was losse, and myghte be recovered: but
rather howe they myghte kepe theyr do-
minion in Affrica. Specially he was wo-
nd thus to be in doubt, for that he iud-
ged, that so great a capitaine of the Ro-
maines, would not leaue the countrey,
that he latelye hadde conquered, to wan-
der abroad in a straunge dominion, onely
wyth two galeys, leauinge behinde hym
his greate power, and committinge hym
vnto the danger of an vnknown kinge
bus

The warres betwene the
of an unknowne kinge: but onelye vpon
some truste that he had thereby to winne
Affric. Scipio concluding a peace and
amitie with the king departed from him
leauinge Asdruball wrapped in many
folde troubles. And within foure dayes
after, sustentinge manye stormes on the
seas, he arriued in safegard at newe Car
thage.

Masanissa speaketh secretly wyth Scipio,
and entreth in leage wyth the Romaynes.

Hago sayleth into Italie, to ioyne
wyth Anniball. Cap. lvi.



It is before declared, howe
Sullanus had secreete com
munication with Masanissa,
and had won him to be
fryende to the Romaynes:
but the conclusion of this communicati
on was deferred, till Masanissa, myghte
speake wyth Scipio personallie, for the
more sure and faythefull assuraunce of
theyr alliance. Whiche caused P. Scipio
to enterpryse that long paynesful iour
neye, to come nere to the sea side to mete
hym. Of whose approaching Masanissa, be
ing in the yle called the Gades, was ad
uertised

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uertised by L. Martius. He sayned to Ma
go, that his hozles were losse and spyle,
for that they were so longe kepte within
the yle, without any exercise: and his me
also were empayzed through idlenes, not
puttinge theym selues in vre to do anye
seates of armes. Furthermoze, he sayde,
theyr longe lyenge in that ilande caused
death and scarstye of all thynges.

Wherfore he desired licēce of him that he
might with his hozlemen passe ouer into
Spayne, there to spyle and waste the
countray nere to the sea syde.

By this perswasion he obteyned licence,
and came ouer into Spayne. At his first
arriuaile, he sent three noble men of Ru
midia, to Scipio, of the which he wylled
him to reteyne with him two, as pledges.
And to sende agayne the thyrde of theym,
to acertayne him of the tyme and place of
theyr meeting by whose conduct he might
be brought to the place appointed. The
daye came, they met together, wyth
a smal number in their company: where
Masanissa, at the first sight, although be
fore he had a great admiracion of Scipio
throughe the noble fame of his actes: yet
vpon the syghte of him and his presence,

he had him in much more veneration. For besides that of nature he was indow'd with goodly & large stature: wherein he shewed a maruailous maiestie: yet the same was set forth the more by reason of his goodlye longe heare, and hys comely apparell after a manly and warrelike fashion. He was also of a middell age at his full strength, and was become so beautiful after a sickenes, of which he was late recouered: that his lusty youtb seemed renewed: wherby he was more pleasaunt to beholde. At theyr first meting, Bassanilla halfe astonied, gave him humble thankses for his goodnesse shewed, in sending home his brothers sonne: whom he before had as prysoner. From whych time (he sayde) he ceased not to seke occasiō of his frendship & amitie, for the which now that he hadde obtayned it, he gave thankses to the goddess. Trusting that he would so apply him selfe in his affayres & the Romaynes causes, that theyr common wealth was neuer more aduanced by one man, beyng a straunger vnto the. Whiche his hearty beneuolence & good will that he bare to them, he could neuer before (although he would) haue shewed

to hym and to theym in Spayne, beyng to him a straunge & an vnknown countrey. But in case y Romaynes wold send Scipio as theyr capitayne into Affrica, where he was bred and broughte up, he doubted not, there to do them such hie service, that the honour of Carthage should no long while endure.

Scipio gladly beheld him, and also heard him: knowinge surelye, that he was the chiefe of all the hoysmen in the armie of his ennemies, and a lusty yong man, of a noble heart and courage. Wherfore after they hadde entreated of their busines, geuing sayth the one to the other, of saythfull loue and amitye, they departed: Scipio to Marraco, and Bassanilla to the yle of Gades. But because it might appeare to Mago, that he had done some feate in Spayne: Scipio suffered him to spoile certaine goddesses & groundes on the sea coast, and to take the pray with him.

Mago beyng desperate of any good speede to be hadde in Spayne, was in minde to sayle into Affrica, when sodaynelye letters came to hym from Carthage, commaunding him with his nauy of shippes that he had at the Gades, that he should

sayle

The warres betwene the
 sayle ouer into Italy. Where byrlyng as
 muche people as he myght, of Frenchmen
 and Liguriens, he shoulde with all spee
 toyne him selfe with Anniball. And for
 that purpose greate summes of money
 were sent him from Carthage. Besydes
 that he leued and exacted as muche mo-
 ney as he could of the Gaditanes compel-
 ling euery man to bzing in his money.
 Besydes this he spoyled the temples.
 With al this his riches he arriued at the
 yle of Minorque, where he gathered toge-
 ther. ii. M. yong men, whom in the begin-
 ning of summer he tooke with him, and
 sayled ouer into Italye with .xxx. greate
 shippes of warre, & manye other shippes
 loden with prouision. He had in his host
 at that time. xii. M. footmen, and two. M.
 horsemen. With this numbze he sodain-
 ly arriued at Geene, which towne he toke
 with small resistance, being vnprouided
 of men of warre. From thense he sayled
 alonge the costes of Liguria, nexte to the
 mountaines called alpes, and hearynge
 that a people of that countrey, called In-
 galoni, held warre with certayne moun-
 tanoyes called Epanterii: he landed there
 & making a leage or amitee with the In-
 galones,

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 galones, he graunted them to inuade the
 mountanoyes wyth certayne of hys peo-
 ple. The rest he sente to Carthage, to de-
 fend the costs of the sea there. For it was
 bruted abroad, that Scipio was mynded
 to lande his nauy in Affrica.
 He hadde no longe season taried there,
 but his armye still encreased. For the
 frenchemen dayly resorted vnto him, be-
 ring the same and glozy of his name. Of
 his arriuall in Liguria aboute Geene,
 Sp. Lucretius sente letters to Rome to
 the senate, aduertisyng them, that where
 Asorball was about. ii. yeres past slayne
 with his armye in the frontiers of Italy,
 to the greate comeforte of the citee, that
 greate ioye was but in bayne, and passed
 like a shadow, onlesse they prouyded now
 speedye remedye. For a newe armye was
 come with Mago from Carthage, to be-
 gynne a newe warre lyke the other, onely
 the capitaine therof was changed. These
 newes moued muche the senators.
 Wherefore they sent letters to. M. Lilius
 then proconsul, commaundyng hym to
 bzyng his hoste from Vetruria to Arpy-
 nius. Cn. Serullius, the pretour had also
 commaundement, to bzyng thither from
 Rome

The warres betwene the
Rome two new legions. Thus laye both
the hostes of the Romayns, & the army of
the Carthaginenses. with theyr friendes
the one not farre from the other, a longe
season, without any thinge doyng w^o
thy of memo^ore.

¶ Scipio sayleth into Italye, commeth to
Rome, and is create one of the consuls,
he desireth to haue licence, to sayle into
Africa with an army, Cap. lviij.

Some after the departyng of
Mago from the ile of Gades,
the Gaditanes yelded them
selues to the Romaynes. P.
Scipio committinge the rule
and gouernance of his army to .L. Len-
tulus, & .L. Manlius, taking with him .x.
shippes, with men sufficient, wente hym
selfe to Rome. Againste whose comminge
the counsaile satte wythoute the cite in
the house of Bellona. Where he sober-
ly declared to the senatours, what thin-
ges he hadde done in Spayne: Howe of-
ten he had fought with baners displayed
against his ennemyes: howe manye cy-
ties he had taken from them by strength:
what people he hadde brought into theyr
obeyssaunce: he shewed also that he hadde
fought

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foughte with .lxxx. sundrye capitaynes no-
ble men, and vanquished theim and their
armies, which befoze were neuer vāqui-
shed: so that now there was no Carthagi-
nenses left in spaine. But for al his noble
actes, he was not admytted to enter the
cite with triumph, because he had neuer
borne office in the cite. After the cōsaile
arose, he entred the cite, where he presen-
ted and broughte into the treso^ore greates
plenty of money and riches of hys gaines
and praies. Soone after the tyme came of
choyng of consuls, at whiche day .P.
Cornelius Scipio was chosen consul, and
P. Licinius Crassus his fellowe for that
yere. Grete was the resorte that came to
behold Scipio wher he went. The
commons had conceived in their mindes
an opinion of hym, that he was the man,
appointed by the Goddes to synge the
warres in Italy, as he hadde befoze deli-
uered Spaine from the Carthaginenses.
Whiche warres in Italy ended, they ap-
pointed in theyr owne vertes, and also
they spake it openly, that he should haue
Africa, appointed as his prouince. Whē
the prouinces were allotted, he was ap-
pointed to Sicilia. and .L. Crassus to the
Mutians

The warres betwene the
 Brutians against Annibal. The same
 monge the commons ranne syl, that
 Scipio shuld haue Affrica to his prouince
 And he euer desyring of great glory, said
 that he was not onely chosen Consul, to
 mainteine the warre, but to finish it and
 to make an ende thereof. Whiche in no
 wyse myght be achieved, onles, he might
 passe with his army into Affrica. Which
 his desyre in case the senators wold not
 graunt, he wold referre it to the voyce of
 the commons.

An oracion made by. *M. Fabius Maximus*, dis-
 swadyng Scipio from hys desyred tourney
 into Affrica, and wyllyng him to main-
 taine the warres against Anni-
 bal in Italy. Cap. lix.



F this purpose of Scipio the
 senators consulted together
 and among other, they desy-
 red. *M. Fabius Maximus* to
 declare his opinion. He an-
 swered, making an oracion in maner and
 fourine folowynge.

I am well assured, fathers conscripte,
 that if I dissent and agree not to this busi-
 ness

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 the passage in Affrica, two thynges wyl
 be iudged and spoken of mee. One is a
 slownes or a slacke tractinge of my mat-
 ter, which naturally is geuen me, and
 that yong men cal fearefulnes or slouth.
 And it greueth me lyttell, though they
 haue such opinion in me, sens other mens
 counceils heretofore haue appeered glori-
 ous at the fyrste face: but at length my
 counsaile hath euer proued best and most
 for the common welth. The second thing
 is, that I should for euyl wyl goe about to
 hynder the glory of this valyaunt consul,
 that dayly groweth & encrease. From
 whych suspicion if neyther my facyon of
 lyuing and maners, nor the office of Dic-
 tatoure. Whiche I haue borne, nor the
 roume of a consul, whiche I haue syue ty-
 mes enioyed: neyther the greate glorye,
 that I haue wonne bothe in the tyme of
 peace and warre, wyl deliuer and purge
 me: let myne age at the leaste deliuer me
 there fro. For what indifferent contenci-
 on can be betwene mee and hym that in-
 peres may not marke my sonne? When
 I was dictatoure, the mayster of the ho-
 les laboured so to the senate, that he was
 made equall wyth me in auctoritee and
 rule.

The warres betwene the
rule: whyche thinge neuer was seene be-
fore. Yet neuer manne herde me, eyther
pryvely or openly refuse they: order there-
in. For I had leauer to get by my deedes
than by my woordes, that he whyche
was by other mennes iudgement com-
pared wyth mee, shoulde shortly after
by his owne confessions geue me the pre-
ferment. Muche lesse now, whan I haue
so ofte borne these honourable offices,
dooe I intende to stryue wyth this flou-
ryshynge younge manne. I letted
Hannibal of his victory, to the intende he
myghte nolue be vanquished of you that
be lustye and stronge. Reason would,
Pub. Cornelius, that ye shoulde be conten-
ted (sence I dyde neuer sette more by
myne owne fame and honoꝝ, or the fame
of the people, than I dyd by the common
welth) although I doe not nowe preferre
your honoure and landes before the com-
mon welthe. Neuertheles in case there
were no war in Italy, or els such an ene-
mie, by whose vanquishyng final honour
were to be gotten than he that wold kepe
the in Italye (although the commune
welth were thereby somewhat auanced)
myghte seeme to goe aboute to take the
gloꝝ

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gloꝝ from the. But sence Annibal is our
ennemye, who hathe with his hoste these
mill. yerres beread Italy, shouldest thou. P
Cornelius, thinke the to lose honour,
yf by thy proweesse, beyng consull, thou
canste expelle and dꝛyue hym sute of this
countrey, who hathe been the cause of so
many of our mens slaughter, and of oure
so great destruction: Wherby as Lucta-
tius bare away the honourable title of si-
nyshinge the first warre with the Cartha-
ginenses: even so nowe thou mayest ob-
taine the prayse of finishinge this warre.
Onelesse thou doest thinke, that Amilcar
than capitayne, was to be preferred be-
fore Hannibal: or that war before this: or
that victoꝝ to be more noble and gloꝝ-
ous, than this shall be to the, if it be thy
chance (being consull) to overcome: Thin-
kest thou it more honoꝝ, to deliuer spaine
from oure ennemies, than to deliuer Ita-
lye: Hanniball is no suche man, but that
whosoener wyl chose to warre in an o-
ther place, muste bee reckened rather to
fear him, than to dispise him. Make the
redy therefore, and thinke not to sette a
compassse aboute the busshes, to goe before
into Africa, to the intende Hannibal
shoulde

should folowe the: but go the nerte waye
to worke, and wheresoeuer Anniball be,
thither directe thy water. Nature giueth
that man should fynde defende his owne
countrey, or he invade or assaile an other
lande. Let there fynde be peace in Italye,
before there be warre in Affrica. And let
feare be the fynt expelled from vs, or it be
gyuen vpon other.

If thou canste by thy gouernaunce doe
both, fynt ouercome Anniball here: and
then after assaile Carthage. Dure trea-
sourye is not able to fynde. ii. greatte ar-
myes: one here, and an other in Affrica.
And if it were sufficiente to fynde. P. Li-
cinius one hoste in Italye, and. P. Scipio
an other also in Affrica: what if it should
chaunce (as God forbide, yet suche happes
haue happed and maye doe agayne) that
Hanniball dyd ouercome Licinius, and
were commyng towarde Rome: Might
we call the from Affrica, as we dyd call
Quintus Fuluius from Capua to oure
succours: Ye, and in Affrica also the so-
tune of warre is doubtfull and varyable.
Let thine owne house or famly be to the
a warnyng. Were not thy father & thine
uncle slayne, wyth they? hostes, and all
with in

within thirtie dayes space: Yet had they
before amonge straunge nations, bothe
by sea and by lande, gotten greate re-
nourme to the cite of Rome and all they?
posteritee. The daye woulde sayle me,
or I made an ende, if I shoulde reken vp
the names of kynges and capitaynes,
whiche rashely haue invaded the landes
of they? ennemyes, to the bitter vndoinge
of them and they? armies. The Atheni-
enses, leauinge warre at home, sente a
noble yonge man capitayne, with an
hughe nauye into Sicillia, where beyng
ouerthrowen in one battaile, they hadde
such losse, that they? common welth was
cleane subuerted for euer. Thys out-
warde example is to aunciente. Let the
same Affrica, and the losse of our stone
consulle M. Attilius, there taken by the
Carthagynenses and they? frendes, bee
to vs a document. In comparyson of Af-
frica, Publius Scipio, the countreyes of
Spayne be but a playe or a game. The
states of them be nothinge like. For at
thy passing into Spaine thou diddest sail
by the costes of Italye and Fraunce, and
diddest arryue wyth thy nauye in the ci-
tie of oure frendes.

Where settinge thy men on lande, thou by sure wayes were conueyed to Tarracon, the frendes also of the Romaynes. From Tarracon, thou camest to the ryuer of Iberus, where thou foundest that noble capitaine L. Martins, and manye fierce Romain souldiours, lesse of the armies of thy father and thine vncle. And sone after newe Carthage was wonne: because none of the .ii. hostes of the Carthaginenses, came to the succour and defence of the citie & theyr fellows. These thinges I can not so greatlye praise: but touching the warres in Affrica, they shal be founde vnlke. For there shalte thou fynde no haven open for oure armye, and nauye, no grounde peasable, no citie of oure frendeshyppe, no kynge our frende. Also no place meete for vs, eyther to abyde vpon, or to go forwardes on.

Wherefore wheresoeuer thou loke, thou shalt se all full of thine ennemyes.

Wylte thou beleue Syphar and the Numidians? Let it suffyse the, that thou dost ones beleue him. Foolishe hardynesse doth neuer prosper: Deceyte doth so order it selfe in small thinges, that sayth maye be geuen to it: to the intent in great thinges

ges it maye deceyue with great aduantage. Thy father and vncle were not oppressed by the armour of theyr ennemyes til they were first deceyued by their olone felowes and false frendes the Celtiberiens. Wca thy selfe were neuer in so great ieopardy through Mago and Asdrubal capitayns of thine enemies, as I wer in by Indibilis & Mandonius, princes of spaine: whome thou liddest take to be thy verpe frendes. Thine olone Romaine souldiours haue of late rebelled agaynst the: and wilt thou nowe trust the Numidians? Both Syphar and Passanissa, touching the dominion or rule in Affrica, will preferre theym selues before the Carthaginenses: yet will they gladlyer suffer the Carthaginenses to beare rule there, then any stranger. Nowe is there contencion & debate betwene the: because they be not fraied with any forein power: but so sone as the Romaine army shal appere before the they wil freyght toyne the selues together. As in a towne where fier is in a house, people wil asseble together to the quenching therof, for feare of a comon hurt or danger: ye shal se the Carthagin. defende their

theyr walles of their towne and countrey
theyr temples, theyr owne houses, with
theyr wyues and yonge chyldren, of an o-
ther sorte then they defended Spayne.

And what if the Carthaginēses, making
peace with the kings that be their neigh-
bours, trustinge to the strength of theyr
townes, & perceyvinge Italye to be made
bare of men of warre by thy commynge
thither wyth suche a power, will sende a
newe armie from Affrica, into Italy, or
will commaunde Mago, who is alreadye
come to the costes of the Liguriens, to
joyne wyth Anniball with al his power,
Then shal we be in the same case, wher-
in we were when Adruball passed the
mountaynes, and was descended into I-
talye. The stronger and valiaunte cap-
taine that thou arte, the more oughte we
& al Italy to reioyce, & to kepe the still a-
mong vs. Thou canst not denye thy selfe
but that where Anniball is, there is the
head & strength of al this warre. And thou
sayst, that thy going into Affrica, shal be
to drawe Anniball thither, so that whe-
ther it be here or there, wyth Anniball
thou must chiefely haue to do. And then
I praye the answer me. Shalt thou be

more sure in Affrica, beinge there alone,
or here in Italy, hauing the other consull
thy felowe and his host ioynd with the:
And if thou wilt seke the experiēce there-
of, let Claudius & Linius, the late con-
suls, be to the an example and a learning
Againe whether shall Anniball be stron-
ger in the litle angle of the Brutians,
whereunto he is driven wyth his hole
hoste, or when he shall come to Carthage
hauing al his friendes of Affrica aboute
him: What a deuise is this, to chole ra-
ther to fight & trie with thine ennemye,
where thy power shal be smaller by the
halfe, and thine enemies power doubled
then to fight in a place, where thou shalt
haue two armies against one: yea, & that
one woone & wried with lōge & greuous
warre. Consider thy selfe, howe muche
this thy counsaile varieth from the mind
of thy father, he being fully appoynted to
spaine, as his prouince, fearyng the com-
minge of Anniball into Italye, to the in-
tent to mete him at his descending from
the mountaynes, left his owne prouince
and came into Italye. But nowe thou,
when Annibal is alreadye in Italye, in-
tendest to leaue Italye: Not so; that it is
so:

The warres betwene the
the common welth so to do, but thereby to
purchase the a noble and glorious name.
But O ye noble fathers conscripte, I do
thinke, y^e D. Coz. Scipio, was not made
consul for his own private welth or plea-
sure, but for the common wealth, and the
safegarde of all vs. Neyther were the ar-
mies of men of warre appoynted to him
to thintent, he like a prince mighte sayle
with them into what parte of the world
he will: but they were assygned to hym,
and to all other his predecessours, for the
safegarde and defence of this citee and of
Italye.

With this oration of Fabius, beyng a
man of great auctoritie, wisdom, expe-
rience, & fame, the moze parte of the au-
cient senators were perswaded, and mo-
men allowed the sobze counsaile of the
olde man, then the syerce minde of Sci-
pio the yonge man. Wherefore Scipio
made vnto him this aunswere.

The aunswere of. D. Cornelius Scipio, to
the oration of M. Fabius Maximus. And
of his sayling into Sicilia, with his
armye. Capitu. ix.



Quintus Fabius in the begin-
ning of his oracion (fathers co-
script) said, that in the declaraci-
on of his opinion he mighte be
suspected to speake of euil wil and enuy:
but it is not I that do accuse so great and
so noble a man thereof. Although I do not
perceue the same suspicion as yet to be
by hym sufficientlly auoyded, whether
the default thereof be in the deformitie
of his oracion, or for lacke of good matter
I knowe not. But this I well perceue,
that to auoyde the cryme or suspicion of
enuye, he hath so extolled his owne ho-
noure, with the fame of his noble actes,
as though it shoulde not become him, or
stand with his honoz, to cotend with me
beinge but a childe vnder the age of hys
sonne. Considering the great offices that
he hath borne in the citee, whereby as it
semeth, his meaninge is, that the desyre
of glozy shoulde be measured onely by the
length of the life of man, and not extende
to be had in perpetuall memorie, with
our posteritye. But this I knowe wel,
that euerye noble heart hath a couctous
desyre to be equialente in famous ver-
tue, not onely with the age present, but
also

also with the people of al ages, both past
and yet to come. And (onles I would dis-
semble) truly M. Fabius, my will is not
onely to be equall vnto thee in renoune,
but also to passe the in prayse, if I maye
attaine therunto. Let neyther of vs both
thinke, that none that shal come after vs
shall be like vnto vs. For that were a
desyre of great hurt & hinderaunce, bothe
of our posteritee, and also of the common
welth, and generallye of all mankynde.
Furthermoze Fabius hath remembred
the ieopardies and perilles, that I should
enter into, by my goinge into Affrica, as
though he were carefull both for me and
mine armie, I meruayle greatlye, from
whens this louing care and thoughte for
me is so sodainly spronge. For when my
father and mine vnckle were both slayne,
and both their armies almoste destroyed,
slayne, and cleane losse, the Affricanes o-
uerunning the countrey with.iiii. seue-
rall hostes & capitaines: than woulde no
man offer him selfe to be a capitaine of
the Romaines in Spaine, but onely I.
At which time, when the people of the ci-
tee made me gouernour beinge than but
xxiii. yeres olde, there was no mā found
whyche

whiche wolde remember my tender age:
neither the power of our enemyes, the
daungerousnes of battayle, nor yet the
late death and destruction of my friendes
in Spayne. Is there now in Affrica anye
greater armies or better capitaines, than
were than in Spaine: Was mine age at
that time moze mete for the warre, than
it is now: or is it greater matter to fight
with our enemies of Affrica in Spayne,
than it is in Affrica: As it is now easy to
auaunce my selfe of.iiii. armies of Car-
thage, by me destroyed: after so manye ci-
ties taken by force, after so manye pryn-
ces and wyld nations subdued, and all
Spaine won vnto the ocean sea, so that
none apparence is lefte there of any war:
Likewyse after my victoryous retourne
from Affrica, it shalbe as easie to set forth
the ouercommynge of all thinges, whych
now be laide very terrible and dangerous
only to the intent to kepe me still at home.
Fabius demeth, that I shall haue no ha-
uens or portes open for me to enter. He
also remembreth the takynge of M. Attili-
us Regulus in Affrica, as though M.
Attilius had his fall at his first arriual
into that countrey. Wherof truely he had
hauens

The warres betwene the
hanens open and enter at his pleasure, by
by the space of an houle yere he dyd manye
noble actes there: Whome the Cartha-
ginenses were neuer able of their owne
power to subdue, til the second yere after
his coming, and many of his host slayne.
They sent for Xantippus capitaine of the
Lacedemonians, with hys power: by
whome he was at lengthe ouercome and
taken in battayle. This example can no-
thinge feare me. For why should I more
fear to sayle into Affrica bycause of the
taking of M. Attilius, then I was afraid
to saile into Spaine after the death of both
the Scipyons? And I truste Xantippus
the Lacedemonien was not bozne to bee
more fortunate to the Carthaginenses,
then I shalbe to the Romaynes and to
myne owne countrey. The tale muste be
recited of the Athenienses, howe fondely
leapynge warre at home, they entred
into Affrica: But why doest thou not re-
herse the history of Agathocles, kynge of
the Syracusanes? Who when his coun-
trei of Sicilia had ben long troubled with
warre by the Carthaginenses, he with
his hoste sayled ouer into Affrica: where
by he deliuered hys owne countrey from
warre,

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 232
warre, and tourned all to the defence of
him, & his power in Affrica. But to shew
the commoditee of inuadyng of a foreyne
countreie, thereby to auoyde ieopardyes
at home: what better example can anye
man reherse, then of this Anniball: there
is greate dyfference betwene the syghte
of bournynge and spoylynge of other
mennes countreys, and the sighte of the
destruction of thine owne cityes and re-
gions. There is more courage in a man,
that offreth battaile, then in him that de-
fendeth. Lyttel thoughte Annibal at hys
first commynge to Italye, that so manye
cities and people wolde haue yelved them
vnto him as did after the battaile at Can-
nas: much lesse cause shall the Carthagi-
nenses haue of truste or hope in Affrica,
considering they vntruthes to their neigh-
bours, and their owne proude and cruell
dominion ouer their subiectes. They being
forsaken of our neighbours, haue still en-
dured all daungers by oure owne power
and strength. The Carthaginenses haue
no greate strength of their owne. Their
power is in hyred souldoyours of Affrica
and Numidia, whose lighte wittes cause
lyghte saythe, when they see cause of
change

The warres betwene the
chaunge. If ye suffer me to depart hence,
with speede, ye shall shortlye heare of my
passage thither, and of the warre where,
with I shal bere them. And then shall ye
see Anniball make speede to departe from
this countrey: and ye shall heare shortlye
of the spege of Carthage: not doubtinge,
but that ye shall receiue gladder tidings
from Affrica, then euer ye had fro me out
of Spaine. These hopes I doe conceyue.
Firste of the fortune of this citee and peo-
ple of Rome. Secondly, through the trust
of the goddes, which are witneses of the
truse broken by them. Thirdly, that occa-
sion offered by Syphax and Massanissa,
to whose promise and faith I wyl so trust
that I wyl also be wel ware of theyr false
hode and dysceipte. And it is the parte of
a man & a good capytayne, not to shrinke
and forsake fortune, when it is offered.
I knowe well Quintus Fabius, that I
shal finde Anniball my matche: but I wyl
rather draw hym, then he shal retire me.
I wyl cause hym to fight with me in his
owne cuntry. And Carthage shall re-
ther be a pray and a rewarde of oure vic-
toyre, then the countrey and castels of the
Mutians, which are almost destroyed al-
ready.

Romaynes and the Carthaginens. 23
ready. Now when ye say, Italy shalbe in
daunger by my departynge hens, I praye
you, maye not. P. Licinius the consull
(whyles I am sailynge thither) stay with
his host Hannibal, that is nowe of small
power: as well as thou. Q. Fabius, dyd-
dest stay hym, when he as a conquerour
ouerranne al Italy: It shal be a great ho-
noure to the Romaines, and an eternall
fame amonge kynges and straunge naci-
ons, that we haue the courage not onelye
to defend Italye, but also to enter & make
warre in Affrica. What shame shal it be
when it shal be sayde, that Hannibal en-
terprysed an acte, that no Romayne cap-
tayne euer durst enterpryse? When con-
tencion was betwene vs and the Cartha-
ginenses for Sicilia, oure nauies and ar-
myes oftentimes inuaded Affrica: Nowe
when contencion is for Italy betwene vs
Affrica remayneth quiet in peace. But
now let Italye take rest, and be in peace,
which of longe time hath been vered, and
let Affrica an other season suffer bour-
nyng, spoyling, and wastynge. And let the
puissant Romayne aringe appoche the
walles of Carthage: rather then we shuld
with bulwarkes and fortifications de-
scende

The warres betwene the
fende oure ennemyes from oure owne
walles. Let Affrica bee from hencefoz the
the place of war. Let feare, flying, fleeing,
wastynge of fieldes and other distructions
belonging to warre, be now tourned thi-
ther, whych by the space of. xiiii. yeaeres
hath innaded our countrey.

After this aunswere of Scipio, greates
strife and alteracyon was in the senate
house. At the laste it was decreed, that
Scipio, with thyrty shippes shuld go into
Sicilia, and from thense at his pleasure,
yf he thoughte it mosse conueniente for
the common welth, to sayle ouer into Af-
frica: the other consull to kepe war in the
countrey of the Brutians agaynst An-
niball. Besydes these shippes, and the
Romaine legions, which were appointed
to Scipio, many cities and countreys ad-
ioynynge to Rome, willingly ayded hym
with shippes, with. vii. thousande souldi-
ours, and all thynges necessarye, of their
owne costes and charges. With whiche
nounge he arrived in Sicilia, and there
deuyded them into companyes, appoynt-
yng to euery company an hundred men.
Among all whych nounge, he chose out
the hundred of the mosse valyante and
active

Romaynes and the Carthaginians. 214
active yonge men, that were without ar-
mour, whome he kepte euer aboute hym.
But they knewe not to what purpose he
mente it. And on a daye he chose and na-
med. iii. C. of the most noble and ryche-
st yonge gentylmen of al Sicilia, whom he
sayde, shuld saile with him into Affrica,
assigning them a day at which they shuld
appere befoze hym wyth theyr horse and
armoure. This commaundemente trou-
bled them soze, & to be so farre from home
with the labours by lande and by sea, se-
med very painful, not onely to them, but
also to their friendes and kinsefolkes. At
the day appoynted for their retorne, they
came al befoze him, bringyng wyth theim
horses, harnais, and al things necessarye.
Then saide Scipio: It is shewed me, that
certaine of you, men of armes of Sicilia,
grudge soze to goe in this iourney wyth
me: Wherefoze yf there bee anye of you
here, of that mynde, I praye you speake
now, and I will gladly heare you. For I
had much leauer, that ye bittered it nowe
betymes, then that ye shuld agaynst your
vertes go forth, and become vnprofitable
souldiours to mee & to the common welth.
Wherunto one of the thre. C. answered
Truely

The warres betwene the
scely 12, if it were in my choise and e-
lection, what I should doe, I wold not go
forth in the warres. Wel, sayde Scipio,
Sence ye haue plainely declared youre
mynde without dissimulacyon, I wyl ap-
poynte one in youre place, to whome ye
shall deliuer youre horse, harneyes, and
other necessarye instrumentes of warre,
whome ye shall take home with you to
your house, and there teache instructe and
exercise him in feates of warre, till I
sende for him agayne.

Of this bargaine the younge gentylman
was very ioyful, and deliuerieng hym all
his apparell for the warre, he toke hym
home with hym. When the reste of the
three hundred men of armes of Sicilia,
perceiued theyr companion by this meane
dismissed from the warre, with the good
loue and fauoure of the Capytaine: every
one of them also beganne to make his ex-
cuse, & desyred to haue Scipio to appoint
other in theyr roumes. Whiche he glady-
lye did, and by this meane he horsed, har-
neyed, and instructed the three hundred
willynge Romayns, that were vnarmed
with the horses and harness of the knightes
of Sicilia, withoute anye charge of the

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses.
the flooke of the cite of Rome: Whiche
proued after balliante men of armes, and
did manye noble actes for the aduance-
ment of the common wealth. Then Sci-
pio searched out such souldiours as war-
red vnder Marcellus the consull, at the
winninge of Siracusa, whome he chose
chiefely: for that he iudged theym to be
expert in assaunting and scalinge of tow-
nes and castelles. For than he imagined
the winnyng of great Carthage. Sone
after he set men a worke to make shippes
wyth speede, and to amende and to re-
payre his olde shippes. Whiche done, he
sent C. Lelius, with a good numbere of
men into Affrica, to spoyle, robbe & waste
the sea costes: where he landed in the
nyghte. And in the dawenyng of the day
setting his men in good order, he spoiled
the fyeldes, destroyed and slewe manye of
the Affricanes: whych looked litell for any
such sodayne inuasion, they had so longe
continued in pleasure and ease. The same
of the destruction came anon to Carthage
the messengers noyed abrode, that Sci-
pio was arrived. For they had heard be-
fore, that he was alreadye come into Si-
cilia

The warres betwene the
cil'a, and they were so sodenly taken, that
for feare they could tell the certaynetie of
nothinge, neyther of the numbze of the
Romaines, nor of theyr shippes: But
feare caused them to make muche more
thereof then it was in dede. The citezens
of Carthage were then in a meruaylous
feare and pensifenes, beholdinge the so
deyne chaunge of fortune, that of late
had so aduanced them, that theyr army
laye before the gates of Rome: and theyr
capitaines had almost subdued all Italye
So we contrarywise, they looked for none
other, but the spoyling of theyr countrey,
and the besieginge of Carthage by the
Romaines. When they considered their
helpe, they found theyr citezens, and men
of their owne countrey about the, weake
and nothing mete for the warre. All their
strength was in hyred souldiours from
other partes of Affrica, and they were
maweringe people, vntrewe and vnsted-
fast. They also rekened Syphax to be tur-
ned from them by the secreete communi-
cation, that Scipio had wyth hym: & Mas-
sanissa was apparently become theyr en-
emie. Of Mago they had no tidinges of
his remouing from Gene, and going in
to

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to Italy, to ioyne his host with Annibals
host: and the same, and also the strength
of Anniball was wared faynt.
When they had all holt considered theyr
wofull state and condicion: then beganne
the senatoures to counsaile and prouyde
for helpe in theyr present necessitie. They
mustered theyr men, both in the citee and
without. They hyred many souldiours:
Affricanes. They vitayled their cytec:
they amended theyr shippes, they prouy-
ded harnesse & al other thynges needefull,
While they were thus busy, true tidinges
came, that it was not the capitaine Sci-
pio, that was arrived: it was Lelius that
with certaine shippes and menne, was
come to robbe and spolie the countrey en-
lye. And that the greete rest of the armye
was yet in Sicilia. With these newes
they were somewhat comforted: and the
they decaised to sende ambassadoures to
Syphax, and to other princes about the,
for a sure alliance and frendshyppe. They
sent also to Phillyp king of Macedonia,
promysing him great summes of money
to inuade eyther Italye or Sicilia, wyth
a great hoste. Into Italye also were mes-
sengers set, to cause the capitaine annibal
A. II. and

The warres betwene the
and Mago to stay Scipio in Italye. To
Mago was sente. xlv. long shippes, vii. m.
footemen. viii. C. horsemen, and. vii. ele-
phantes, wyth great plenty of money, to
hysr mo mē in those parties, willing him
with all his strength to remoue towards
the citee of Rome, and ioyne his hoste
with Annibals. This preparation made
the Carthaginenses.

When the shippes of Carthage were ar-
riued at Gene, they founde there Mago
with his army and nauy of shippes: who
knowing the minde of the Carthaginen-
ses, called befoze him a great number of
Frenchmen and Liguriens, vnto whom
he shewed, that he was sente into those
parties, to purchase them libertie, and de-
liuer them from bondage, wherein they
had long bene holden. He declared also to
them, howe M. Linius, & Sp. Lucretius
laye with theyr twoo Romaine armies,
not farre from them. The one in Petru
the other in Fraunce. Whose powers to
resyst, he needed to haue a greate assemble
of people. When the Frenchmen aunsw-
red, that their hartes & mindes were hol-
lye to serue him therein. But they sayde,
ther was an hoste of Romaines alreadye

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in theyr countrey: whych if they dyd per-
ceyue, that Mago were ayded by them,
they would incontinent waste & destroye
theyr countrey, Wherfoze they desired
that the Liguriens myghte helpe him:
who were nothing so nere daunger, and
they would priuily helpe him with vitay-
les and all thinges necessary, to the best
of theyr power. Wherunto the Liguri-
ens agreed, and desired two monethes
space to assemble & take musters of theyr
best souldiours.

Marcus Linius, hearynge that Mago
gathered together so greate a number of
people: he remoued wyth his hoste into
Fraunce, and ioynded him selfe to Sp. Lu-
cretius, lieng euer in a wait to mete with
Mago, so soone as he remouyng from the
Liguriens, wold offer to enter into Italy
and take his iourney towarde Rome.
But in case Mago would reste in the an-
gle of the mountaynes, withoute further
procedinge: then they lyke wyse wold as-
bide about Arminius, euer readye for the
defence of Italy.

The complaynt of the Lucretiuses to the
senatours of the cruell gouernance of

M. Pleminius. Cap. lxi.

Ma Taniffa

The warres betwene the
 Massanissa hearinge of the ar-
 ruyale of a Romayne armye in
 Affrica, wyth a small numbre
 of horsemen came to Lelius, to
 whom he complayned much of the slow-
 nes of Scipio, that he hadde not at that
 time bene in Affrica, wyth his great po-
 wer, consyderynge the lowe ebbe that
 the Carthaginenses were brought vnto
 and also seynge that Syphax was nowe
 busyed wyth warre wyth the princes ad-
 ioyninge vnto him. Whom (he sayde) he
 knewe surely, after that he had brought
 his owne purpose to good effect, and had
 leiser to settle all his owne busines, that
 then he woulde obserue no promyse or
 bonde, that he had before made to the Ro-
 mans. So litle good faith he knewe to be
 in him. Wherefore he desyred Lelius to
 moue and stirre Scipio, to make hast thi-
 ther, and he woulde not faile (although he
 were driven oute of his owne realme) to
 mete with him soone after his landyng,
 with a good numbere bothe of horsemen
 and of footemen.

On the morowe after, Lelius departed
 with his shippes loded with theyr praye,
 and landed in Sicilia: where he founde
 Scipio,

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 Scipio, to whō he declared the mynde and
 message of Massanissa. Wherupon he
 had shortlye set forwarde into Affrica,
 had he not heard comfort of the winning
 of Locres, a citee in the uttermoste parte
 of Italye, that then was holden by the
 Carthaginenses. Whiche citee in shorte
 time he obtayned, partlye by treason of
 certayne carpenters, that wrought in the
 castel, partly by the fauour of the citezēs
 therof, who being greuouslye oppressed
 by Amilcar the captayne, & other Cartha-
 ginenses of the garrison, that ceased not
 to vse all kindes of oppression ouer them
 at the laste consented to receyue the Ro-
 maines into the towne. Whych drougt
 to passe, Scipio retourned to Sicilia, lea-
 uinge behinde him M. Pleminius cap-
 tayne of the towne, with a garrison suf-
 ficient for the keepynge of the same. After
 whose departinge, Pleminius wyth hys
 souldiours, farre passed Amilcar and the
 Carthaginenses in pryde, anarpye, and
 all other vices. So that it semed, they
 stroue not, who shoulde overcome ether in
 feates of armes: but who shoulde errede o-
 ther in vice. They spared neither mens
 wyues maidens nor daughters they erer
 cised

The warres betwene the
cruell rapine of mens goodes, and spoy-
ling of temples. Whereof the citizens
being wearye, sent message of complaint
to Scipio the consull. Whereupon he este-
sones came to Locrus: where he hadde al
theyr matters debated, and at length pu-
nyshed certayne of them by emprisonment
and after departed, leauyng Syll. N. Ple-
minius capitaine there, with no lesse au-
toritee then he had before. But after he
departed, Pleminius willinge to execute
his malice ouer his enemies, put certain
of them to cruel death: whych before had
complayned of him to the consull. His
souldiours also were after ward more cru-
ell and vnruly then they were before.
Wherefore they sente legates to Rome
with greuous complaynte to the senate,
of the manyfolde iniuries, hurtes, and
cruell paynes, that they suffered: muche
more by the Romaynes, then ever they
had by the Carthaginenses. Whose
complaynte beyng well and delyber-
ately herde in the senate, Quintus Fa-
bius, replete with olde malice agaynst
Scipio, to set forth his negligence, in-
quired of the legates, whether they had
neuer before that time shewed their cause
to

to the consull Scipio. They answered,
that at their first complaint, he herde the
matter, and then putting the tribunes in
pison, he let Pleminius goe at libertee
and put hym agayne in auctorytee: al-
though he was worthye more punysh-
ment then the other. But at their seconde
complainte made to hym by their legates
he was so busied about the settinge for-
wards of his shippes and men into Affri-
ca, that he coulo not attende to here or ex-
amine their matter. Then was there
greate reproche spoken of Scipio, by ma-
nye of the princes of the senate, speciall-
y N. Fabius alledged, that he was borne
to corrupte and destroy all warlike policie
and lernyng, by his ouermuch sufferance
and giuinge of libertie. Some wold have
had Pleminius brought to Rome bound,
and Scipio called from his prouynce.

At the laste the sentence of N. Metellus
toke place, whiche was, that it was good
to send for Pleminius, accordyng to the
mynde of Fabius. But as touching Sci-
pio, whom the whole cite firste had cho-
se in his youth to be a capitayne in spaine
and he accordyng to their expectacion had
deliuered the hole contrey out of the han-
des

bes of theyr ennemyes : Inherbypon they also of late had chosen hym consul, to subdue Affrica, and to deliuer Italy of Annibal: He thoughte it not meete for suche a noble man to be sodeynly condemned, his cause not beinge dulpe herde and debated, or to haue hym called from hys iourney, without a greater cause than this was. Considering that the Locrenses could lay no default to Scipio, but only ouermuche sufferance of Pleminius. Wherefore he thoughte it beste, that M. Pomponius, with. ii. tribunes, shuld be sent to Locrus & fro thense to Sicilia, to examine & trye, whether the wronges done to the Locrens were done by the commandement or assent of P. Scipio. or not. And in case he were consentynge therto, then that they shoulde comānd him to retorne to Rome: & other legates to occupy his place, or els that he shoulde continue in his purpose and iourney into Affrica, as he had appoynted.

According to this sentence Pomponius with. ii. tribunes, & other legates, came to Locrus, making proclamation, that if any man wold accuse Pleminius, Scipio or any other mā, that they shuld come before them, and they shuld be well herde.

The

The Locrenses gyuing great thanks to the Romaynes, for the goodnes therein to the shewed, answered, that they wold accuse Pleminius, as chiefe doer of al the mischief, & certayne other with him. But as touching Scipio, they had nothinge to charge hym withall: but that he eyther gaue ouermuch credēce to Pleminius, or to littell faith to their wordes. But they sayd, they knew very wel, that the wronges to theim done, were neyther by the wyl nor commaundement of Scipio, but they thoughte hym to be of the nature of many men, which are soze that any wōg or offence shoulde be commytted, and yet when the iniuries be done, they haue not the hertes or willes to reuēge, or punyssh the offenders of the same.

With this answer. M. Pomponius, and the other, were muche eased of anye further inquirie of Scipios matter. wherefore they toke Pleminius, and. rrr. other of his complices, that were founde guiltye of dyuers greater offences, and sente them bound to Rome: where Pleminius dyed in pryson. Sone after the other were put to condigne execucion. When thought they to go to Scipio, to see, whether y flau-
der

The warres betwene the
 her spoken of his slouth in gouernante,
 or of the misorder of hys hoste were true
 or not: that they myght therof make true
 report, whā they were returned to rome.
 Scipio hearyng of their commyng, cau-
 sed all his armye to repayre to Syracuse,
 where he then lay: and also caused his na-
 uie of shippes, to be set forth and ordered
 in all poyntes, as thou ghe he shoulde the
 same daye haue fought with the Cartha-
 ginenses, both by water and land. Whā
 Pomponius and the other ambassadours
 were come, he gently and louingly re-
 ceined them. He shewed them his armye
 on the land in array redy to fight: hys na-
 uie also on the sea, he shewed them not
 only redy to battaile, but makyng a shew
 of a fight in the haven. Then led he them
 to his garners of corne: and into hys ar-
 more and store houses of ordinance and
 artillary, and all instrumentes of warre.
 Who seinge all his prouision and order,
 were stricken with a great admiracyon of
 him & his conduct: iudgyng that through
 hys gouernance of his army, the Cartha-
 ginenses shoulde be ouercome: or elles it
 were neuer possible for them to bee sub-
 dewed. Wherfore despyng the goddes
 to

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 137
 to prosper wel his iourney, they departed
 from him, takynge theyr waye to Rome
 with great ioye, as though they were go-
 yng to bryng tydynge to Rome of vic-
 toye, rather than to repozte the meruay-
 lous preparacyon towarde battaile,
 which they had seene in Sicilia.
 Whan they came into the senate house,
 they extolled the fame and actes of Sci-
 pio after suche sorte, that they sente hym
 worde incontinente, to departe towarde
 Carthage, takynge with hym whome he
 woulde, leauyng behynde hym for the de-
 fence of Sicilia certaine at his pleasure.

¶ Kyng Syphax maryeth the daughter of Al-
 drubal, he sendeth letters to Scipio, willinge
 him to absteyne from anye warre in Affrica.
 With the aunswere and dissimulation of
 Scipio vnto the same. Scipio arry-
 ueth in Affrica with hys host, to
 whome cometh Massanissa.
 Capitulo, lxii.

Whyles the Romayns made this
 great ordynance for the warre:
 the Carthaginenses, fearynge
 greatly the commyng of Scipio
 prepared

The warres betwene the
prepared as much as they coude for the
defence and strengthe. **W**herfore
to plucke Syphar from the amitee of the
Romaynes, Asdruball, the sonne of Cis-
gon made hast to fynishe a marriage be-
twene Syphar and hys daughter, that
was a very fayre mayde. The king being
inflamed with loue, made haste also to be
married. When Asdruball, besides his par-
ticular aliāce, made a new general bonde
of amitee betwene him & the Carthaginē-
ses, with great solempnitee and othes ta-
kyng: promisyng faithfullpe, that the
frendes and ennemies of the one, shoulde
also be the friendes or ennemyes to the o-
ther. Neuer the lesse Asdruball remem-
bryng the promyse of amitee, y^e the kynge
had ones made wyth Scipio, when he
was lodged with him in his palais: kno-
wying the mutabilitie and unstedfastnes
of those barbarous naciones, and fearyng
lesse if that Scipio were ones arryued in
Affrica, that the bande of mariage wolde
be but lyttel worth: Therfore whyles the
loue was feruent betwene the kynge and
his daughter, he by his greate desyre, and
his daughter also wyth hir fayre entrea-
tyng, caused the kynge to sende hys am-
bassa

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bassadours to Scipio into Sicilia, wyth
letters, groupnge him warnyng, that he
shuld not vpon the trust of any promyse to
hym before made by the kynge, sayle ouer
into Affrica: aduertisyng hym, that he
had married the daughter of one Asdrubal
of Carthage, whom Scipio mette in his
palais, when he arryued in Affrica. Fur-
thermore he sayde, he was in a greate
leage and amitee with the people of Car-
thage. **W**herfore he desyred hym and the
Romaynes, if they wolde warre with the
Carthaginenses, that they do it far from
Carthage, as they haue done heretofore,
that he shoulde not neede to be presente at
theyr battailes. For in case Scipio wolde
not forbear Affrica, but lay siege to Car-
thage, he coulde no lesse doe, but fighte for
the defence of hys countrey of Affrica, in
which he was gotten borne and brought
vp: and for the defence of the countrey of
his wyfe, for hir father and family.
With these letters came the messengers
to the citie of Syracusa to Scipio who
perceiued by the contentes of the same,
that he shoulde haue greate lacke of the
kings helpe, in his busines of Affrica: yet
he set forth a countenaunce, keepinge se-
crete

The warres betwene the
crete the cause of theyr comyng, til he had
sent them home againe to the kyng wryth
letters: wherein he moued him, neuer to
bzeake the promyse that he ones made
him, noz swarue from the faith and amice
made with the Romains, wherof the
goddess were witnessses. When the mes-
sangers were departed with his letters,
Scipio fearing lesse his souldours wolde
muse much and deuise also of the cause of
the comyng of the sayd messangers, to
hide the sayd cause from them, and to put
them in courage, he dyssembled the mat-
ter, and callynge bys men together sayde
to them.

Sirs now is the full time for vs to de-
parte hense into Affrica, without further
taryng. For the kinges our friends haue
sent vnto vs, instantly desiringe vs, to
make speede. Fyiste Passanilla came to
Lelius, complainyng greatly of our trac-
tinge of tyme. And now Syphax hath al-
so sent vnto vs, maruayllyng why we ta-
rie so long. Desyryng that we wyl either
thoxtlye come ouer to hym, or els in case
we be otherwise minded, to certifie hym
by wrytynge: that therupon he maye pro-
uode for him selfe and his countrey. wher
foze

for seens all thinges is nowe readye, and
the matter requirerth haste, I entende to
leade mine army and nauy to the parties
of Lilibeus: and as soone as the weather
serueth, to depart with the fauour of the
goddess toward Affrica.

After these wordes to them spoken, he or-
dered all thinges for his departinge, and
soone after came to the sayde porte, with
all his hoste. Al his shippes also met him
there. The noubre wherof was so
greate, that the hauen suffyced not to con-
teyne them, noz the citee coulde not re-
ceyue the men. If the certayntee of the
noubre wryters do not agree. Where-
fore I wil let it passe. But it seemeth, the
noubre of the men was greate, that at-
chieued so greate an enterpryse, and for
whom so great prouision was made. For
there were. 400. shippes charged with
men, vi. ailles, ordinances, and other ne-
cessary carpage, besides. cc. great & longe
shippes, wherof Scipio him selfe, and
L. Scipio his brother, tooke the gouer-
naunce, & other. cc. like shippes vnder the
rule of C. Lelius his admirall of the sea.
Which. xl. great shippes thus druyen,
sayled euer on both sides of the other. iii.
kk. C. as

The warres betwene the

C. as waiters, for the defence of theyr vitayles and cartage. In euery shippe also he caused to be vitayles and frethe water for .xxv. dayes: whereof the meate that would serue for .xv. dayes was ready laden, the other was rawe. When gaue he commaundement to al his souldiours, to kepe peace and silence in their ships, for troubling the shipme: & that they shoulde be redy to do all that the sayd shipmen desired them to do, if nede required. With this greate number of shippes & of men, they departed the day folowinge: Euery one of the .xl. long shippes being appointed to haue in the night season one light, euery one of the .iiii. C. laden shippes .ii. lyghtes, & the capitaines chiefe shippes, for a speciall marke or knoweledge, had three sayre lights. In the morning at the sounding of a trüpet the vessels set forth in good order. And Scipio him selfe at his departing, made his prayer openly in the audience of many people on this maner. O ye goddes and goddeses, which inhabit rule and gouerne both sea and land, I humbly beseeche you that ye graunte all thinges that I haue done, do, or shall do, may turne to the honour and wealth of me

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me and the citezens of Rome, and that ye will be ayding and assisting to me in my proceedings: So that our ennemies being overcome, we maye safe and sounde retourne home to oure houses, laden with the praye gotten by the spoyle of oure ennemies. Graunt ye also, that I may haue power so to do vnto the people and citeye of Carthage, as they haue intended to do to the cite of Rome.

After these wordes, doing sacrifice (after the custome that they vsted) he departed.

The wynde was good, and in short space toke them from the sight of the land, and within foure dayes, they were broughte vpon the coaste of Affrica. When scipio seeing a greate mountayne or rocke, lienge out vpon the sea, inquired of the mayster of his shippe, what was the name of that mountaine. He answered, it is named the mount of beautee. When sayd Scipio I like the name and the lucke therof very well: in the nexte dayen thereto set vs on lande. When the armie was landed, they gat them to the nexte hilles, where vpon they pitched their tentes, & encamped them selues. When were the inhabitants of the sea coastes, and all the countrey

The warres betwene the

they thereabout, in great feare and trouble, perceyning the arriuale of so great a naue, euery man fled from those parties taking with them theyr wiues, their children and substaunce, dviuing before them theyr cattel to the nerte stronge townes, to the great feare of al the countrey where the newes thereof was broughte. Specially in Carthage such feare, sorrowe, and trouble invaded the people, as though the city had beene alreadye taken by theyr enemies. They were then vnprovided both of men of warre, and also of a good capitaine to be their gournour.

The best capitaine that they then hadde was Asdruball the sonne of Gisgon, who Scipio at diuers battels in Spayne, had before put to flyghte, & at the laste drome him cleane oute of Spayne, with all his helpers: so that they esteemed the capitaines to be as farre unlike, as the armye of Carthage was unlike to the Romayne hoste. In this great feare the gates of the citee were shutte, the walles kepte with watche and warde, as though theyr enemies had ben alreadye come before the walles of the towne. Five hundred horsemen were also sente forth to espye the com-
dante

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duite of the Romaynes, who by chaunce mette wth manye romayne horsemen, that were sente oute to robbe and spoyle the feldest adioynynge, and were by them put to flyght, to the greates losse of many of the Carthaginenses.

Some after the arriuale of the Romans came Hannibal to scipio, bringing with him two hundred good men well horsed. His power was the not great, for he had bene driven and chased oute of his owne realme, and was banished by strengthe oute of his owne countrey. Whose cominge was very ioyfull and comfortable to the Romaynes. The Carthaginenses after the losse of their horsemen, assembled againe a newe winge of horsemen, where of they made gouernour Hanno, the son of Amilcar. When sente they letters and legates to Asdrubal, to come to the succour of the citee, that was at poynt to be besieged. They sent also to king siphar, desyring him to come to the succoure & defence both of Carthage, & also of all Affrica. When lay the Romayns nere vnto the cite of Utica. Hanno hauinge with him 1000 horsemen, came to the towne of Salera, 20. miles from the Romayne cape
then

When Scipio had knoweledge thereof, he sente Massanissa befoze, with certayne horsemen with him to skymme the wyth them at the gates. Commaunding hym that so sone as the multitude of his enemies were ones come forth, and that he could no longer endure their strenght, that then he should softly withdraw him selfe towards the hilles, where he should finde him with his hoste, ready do succour him. With this instruction Massanissa departed & roode to the gates, of the citee skymming with suche as were at the sayde gates, manye came forth to the battayle withoute good order, & then Massanissa, sayning him selfe to be afraid, somewhat reculed sūtime he turned again & fought, with them that folowed him. Thus he played at base with theym, till the whole multitude of horsemen were come forth of the gates. When sūdzely he withdrew him selfe til he came to the hils, to which hilles the Romain horsemen were then to uertlye come. When Massanissa sterclye returned and assayled his enemies, and the Romain beinge fresse the selues and hauinge fresse horses, compassed & assailed them that were befoze almoste breake
wyth

with chasing Massanissa, so y at the firste hunt, Hannos hym selfe, and a. M. horsemen wyth hym were slayne. The reste fledde, wherof the Romans in the chase slewe and toke other. ii. M. among whom were many noble men of the citee of Carthage. The praye after the victorie was great. The towne was taken, and the capitaynes with other men of armes were well rewarded by Scipio. But aboue other he gaue Massanissa greate gyftes, and leauinge a sufficient garrison in the towne, he with his hoste remoued thence sending much of the praye, which he had taken, both men, beastes, and other ryche, by certayne of his shippes into Sicilia: intendinge him selfe to assaile the citee of Utica, with all his power: which if he myghte ones winne, he reckened to be a restinge place for hym and his, till the rest of his voyage were achiened. Thus was the towne of Utica besyged round about, and their hope was to haue succours of Asdrubal: who had assembled together. xxx. M. footemen, and .iii. M. horsemen. Neuerthelesse for al that number, Asdrubal durst not set forth of Carthage, till kinge Syphax was also come to

The warres betwene the
to him with fiftye thousande footemen,
and. x. M. horsemen. When set he for-
wardes, and came nere vnto Utica, pry-
ching his tentes and campe not farre
from the Romain armye. There came a-
bout this time from Sicilia and Sardi-
nia great plenty of wheat, to vntuple the
Romaines: so that they had therof great
plentye. There was also brought thither
xii. C. gownes, and. xii. M. cotes for the
souldiours, and prouision was made for
all thinges that they lacked. These were
the actes of Scipio in Affrica this somer.
During whiche sommer, P. Sempzonius
the consull in Italie foughte with Annib-
ball: where the Romaines had the worst,
and lost. xii. C. of theyr men. But soone
after Sempzonius sent for P. Licinius the
proconsull, to come to hym with his ar-
mye. After whose coming, theyr powers
beinge ioyned together, they wente to-
wardes Anniball, and he beyng full
of his last victorie, fought with them a-
gayne to his greate losse. For there were
foure thousand of his men slayne, and. iii.
hundred taken. When Anniball beyng
greatlye discomforted with this losse, re-
turned fro thence to Croton, Some after
the

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The time of the chosynge of consules was
come, at which Cn. Seruilius Cypio, and
Cn. Seruilius Geminus were create con-
sules, and other officers were chosen, ac-
cording to the olde custome, diuers cities
also of the Brutians, as Consentia, Pan-
dolia, and other, submitted them selues,
and returned againe to the Romaines.

Scipio secretly espynge the manner of his ene-
mies canpes, in the nyghte burneth them
bothe, putteth Syphax and Asdruball to
flight, with greate losse of theyr men.
They make agayne a newe field,
and are eftsones discomfited,
and put to flyght.
Cap. lxiij.

When winter beganne here, and both
the great hostes laye encamped
not farre from Utica: yet Scipio
neuer ceased from the be-
siegeinge of the towne, and bys campe
was in the sighte of his enemies. By
mynde was still vpon his busines touching
the warre. Among other his cares he be-
uysed greatly, by what meanes he might
winne byng Syphax from the Cartha-
ginensis,

The warres betwene the

Gynenses, iudgyng that the heate of loue, whiche he had to his younge wyfe was by that tyme somewhat allayged, and that he was then werpe of the pleasure in loue, beyng (as he thought) satisfied therein to his contentacion: When he had by legates assayed the mynde of the kyng, he made answer, that he wold intreate of peate betwene the Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. Upon this condition, that the Romaynes should depart cleane oute of Affrica, and the Carthagynenses lyke wyse out of Italy, without further trouble: or elles he woulde not faile to pursue the warre on the partie of the Carthaginenses. With these conditions Scipio was nothing pleased: Neuerthelesse, trustyng by further communication in the matter, to haue advantage, by the serche and trewe knowledge of the state of his ennemyes, though the common entercourse of eyther partye to the others campe: he faintly refused those conditions, wherby his ennemyes might take some hope of the achieuinge of theyr purpose. Nowe were the wynter houses in the camps of the Carthaginenses made of woodde and bowes, such as they could get

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get together. The Numidian lodgings were couered wpth flagges and rebes, as they laie within theyr campe, without order. Many also chosynge theyr owne places withoute assignement, laye without the campe or dyches: whiche beyng shewed to Scipio, gaue him a comeforte and an hope, that the lodgings of his ennemyes by pollicie might be set on fyre. Wherefore at euery time that he sent any ambassadours to the kyng Syphax, to entreate of the peace, to be perfectly assured of the trewe state of all thynges, he neuer sent with the certayne witty fellows of his armye, dysguysed in the habite and fourme of slaues, commaunding them, whyles the ambassadours were busye in theyr communicacio, that they should stray abrode to al partes of the campe of his ennemyes, & to marke well the entrees and issues of the campes, with the fire and station of the station or lodgings, as well of the Carthaginenses as of the Numidians, and in what quarter they were set, and how farre the kynges campe was distant from the campe of Asdruball, with the maner of theyr watch and ward both by night and by days.

When

When the matter was thus dyuers tymes debated betwene the two counsailes: and that the Romaines were perfect of all the state of theyr ennemyes, and theyr order: When the legates of Scipio sayd vnto the kyng, that they were commaunded neuer to retorne, vntil they had brought determinate aunswere, either of peace or of warre: Despyng hym, eyther to geue aunswere thereof hym selfe, or to take the counsaile and aduise of Asdruball and the Carthaginenses, and therevpon to make them theyr aunswere. For it was now hys time to know, either the one or the other, withoute further trespasyng forth of tyme. Thus while Siphax toke the aduise of Asdruball, and Asdruball of the noble men of Carthage, the espyes had leaser to biewe and serche all things that they were charged with, and Scipio had tyme to prepare all that was mete to serue his purpose. The Numidiens also & the Carthaginenses, trustinge ouer on peace, were neglygente in foresyng and auoydyng daungers of warre that were prepared for theyr myschiese. At the last aunswere was made, that the Romaines woulde haue peace, but their

congh

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condicions were not indifferente. whych they desired. Wherevpon Scipio, hauinge a good occasion, honestlye to breake the truse betwene them taken. On the morrow he sente word to the kyng, that syns he perceiued no man willynglye to haue peace but hym selfe: therefore the kyng from thens forth shoulde truste to haue no peace with the Romaines, onlesse he wold leaue the amitee of the Carthaginenses. When was the time of trule expyed, and the spyng of the yere was come. Wherefore Scipio, to byng his purpose aboute, assembled together his shippes, and furnyshed them with ordynance and artyllery, as though he wold assaile Utica on the sea coste. He also sent two thousande men of warre to kepe the hyl aboute Utica, whych before laye vnkempte: And that he dyd for two purposes. Firste, to drawe the myndes of his ennemyes from the suspicion of that whych he had deuysed, and to occupy them with contrary worke. Secondly, with that power to defend his campe from the excursions of the citezens, in case they woulde issue out, whiles he with his power were gone to Siphax, and Asdrubal. When did he

The warres betwene the
be open vnto Massanissa, & certayne other
what his minde was to do the nyght fo-
lowynge. And he commaunded the Tri-
bunes, that in the eueninge folowynge,
they shoulde bynne forth the hoste in-
to the fyeldes. They accordynge to his
commaundment, about the sonne setting
sette forth the standerdes and banners,
and in the begynnyng of the nyght, the
hoste sette forthwarde in arraye, so that by
mydnyght they hadde gone .vii. my-
les, and were come nere to the campe of
theyr ennemyes. Then Scipio deuyded
his armye in .ii. partes. The one parte
with the Numidiens he appointed to Le-
lius and Massanissa, wyllynge them to in-
uade the campe of kynge Syphax, and
to set fire on the lodgings made of bowes
and of flagges, hartelye praysynge them
both, that night to applye theyr busynesse
with greate diligence. And he sayde, that
so sone as he might perceiue the fire to be
in the kynges campe, then wolde he also
assaye the campe of Asdrubal.

Accordynge to his commaundement the
purpose was achieved. For incontynente
after the fyre was put into the uttermost
partes and houses, the fyre anon toke in
the

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 248
the dyke stikes and flagges, and ranne
from one house to another: so that in short
space it was abrode in euerye parte of the
campe. The numidiens of the kynges
hoste, perceiuyng the fyre, were stryken
with a sodayne great feare, and the more
because it chaunced in the nyght season.
Yet nothing mistrusting the cause there-
of to aryse throughe their ennemyes, but
sugynge it to come throughe some neg-
ligence or euil fortune. They ranne on al
partes to helpe to cease or quench the fire
withoute armour or weapons. Molt
Massanissa, whiche knew the wayes and
entrees aboute the kynges campe, had so
layde his Numidiens in embushmentes,
that as the people ran abrode to quench the
fyre, they fel into the company of their en-
nemyes er they knewe where they were,
& by þe meanes many were slaine, manye
also were burned in theyr beddes wth fyre.
The watche of the Carthaginensis, in
the campe of Asdrubal, perceiuyng the
great fires in the kynges campe, awak-
ed the rest of the hoste. And bo beyng also de-
ceiued, for that they thought the fire was
happned by negligence, and not by the de-
uise of their ennemyes, and hearyng the
greate

The watres betwene the
great crie of theyr company in the kinges
host, that were slaine which they thought
came but onely through the sodayne feare
of the fyre, that was happened in the
nyght: they ranne together in companie
vnto the gates of the campes, the next waye,
takynge onelye with them suche thynges,
wherewith they might quench the fyre. Whom the Ro-
maines receiued as they came, and slewe
theim euery one, that none escaped to
beare tydynge thereof. When Scipio in-
continente inuaded the campe. Where
fyndynge the gates therof vnto the wardes, he
entred with his armie, and set fire on the
lodgynges in diuerse partes, which spred-
dyng abrode, in short space burned al that
was therein, both man beaste and stuffe.
And suche as wolde haue fledde from the
daunger of the fyre, were slayne with the
swerde of the Romaynes.

Thus in one time were bothe the cam-
pes wonne. Neuerthelesse both the cap-
taines escaped with. cc. M. footemen, and
b. C. horsemen wherof many were wound-
ed and hurt with that fyre. There were
slayne and burned that nyght. x. M. be-
sydes them that there were taken, about
vi.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 247
vi. thousande, with manye noble men of
Carthage: whereof fortye were senators
with a great and riche praye, of horses,
armure and other thinges, muche of va-
lure, whiche were distributed amonges
the souldiours. The king with certayne
with him fledde to his owne countrey.
Asdrubal with as gret speede as he might
came to Carthage, where he found the ci-
tee sore troubled, and in great feare.
For they iudged, that Scipio, leauinge
the further assaulte of Utica, woulde in-
continente after his victorie come to as-
sault and overcome Carthage. The they
determined, in haste to assemble a newe
hoste of the city and countrey about them.
They also sent messengers to kyng Spa-
phar, to require him that he woulde ga-
ther his power, and helpe to defend both
his countrey and theyrs. Wherupon his
younge wife much moued him: who pite-
ously weping, desired him not to suffer
his fathers and her countrey to be destroy-
ed, and the citee of Carthage to be bour-
ned by the Romaynes, as they of late
bourned the kynges tentes and her fa-
thers. The legates of Carthage also the
A. I. wed

The warres betwene the

loved him, that good fortune was coming towards them, For that there were arrived of late. iiii. M. men of warre of Celtiberia, a countrey of Spayne, whych were hyed to come to theyr succours.

And that Asdruball woulde not fayle to ioyne wyth hym wyth a ful noble armye To whō the king gaue gentle aunswere sayeng, that he would assemble and put in armour all the lustie yonge men of his realme. For he sayd, he knewe well, that he was before overcome by fyre, and not by battayle. Wherefore he woulde neuer accompte him selfe vanquished, oneles he were overcome & subdued in the fielde by strengthe and power. With this aunswere the messengers departed.

And shortly after accordinge to theyr appoyntemente Asdruball and the kynge mette together, wyth their armies, and had betwene them both. xxx. M. men.

Scipio hearyng of their newe comyng againe on him, with that power, left at the sayd Utica, a smal number of his people both by sea and by land: and him selfe wyth his great power wente to mete his ennemies. He pitched his campe in the playne fyelde, not farre from the kinges campe

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campe, where lyghte skyrmishes were made betwene the horsemen of both parties, by the space of. iii. dayes. On the fourth day, the capitaynes prepared their hostes to battayle.

Scipio set his spearmen in the fronte of his battayle, behinde whome were his best assured souldiours footemen sette to theyr ayde and succours. On the ryghte wyng were his horsemen of Italye. On the left wyng was Massanissa with his Numidian horsemen.

On the other side, Asdruball agaynst the wyng of Italian horsemen, set his Numidians, & agaynst Massanissa he set his Carthaginenses. In the middes were the newe souldiours of Celtiberia. Thus being ordered, the battayles ioyned. And at the first encounter, both the winges of the Carthaginenses and of the Numidians were driven backe. For the Numidians being nowe rude & vntaught men of armes, were nothing able to resist the Roman horsemen: neither the Carthaginenses (being also vnerpert in feates of war) were able to withstande Massanissa that was fierce and terrible, through the ioye of his late victori. Wherefore the winges of his late victori.

l. ii.

byng

The warres betwene the
beinge thus put to flyght, the poore army
of the Celtiberians remained alone, na-
ked destitute of helpe or refuge. For they
durst not, for that being in an unknowen
countrey, they knewe no place whether
to flye to be saued. Againe, if they were
taken they looked for no grace at Scipios
hande: seeing they came from theyr owne
countrey into Africa, to fyghte agaynst
him that had befoze oft times bene their
good frende. Wherefoze being compas-
sed about with their enemies, they were
slaine one vpon an other withoute pitye.
But whyles all men were busye aboute
thm, Syphar and Asorubal had time to
escape, to whom the nyght being so nere
was much their safegarde.

What feare the Carthaginenses were
in after this greate ouerthrowe of theyr
frendes, and seeing Scipio with his ar-
mye, ouer ridinge the countrey rounde a-
bout them, and winninge the cities and
townes which were vnder theyr subiecti-
on: no pen can write, nor tynge expresse.
they looked euery houre when theyr cities
should be enuyroned with theyr enemies
they fortified their walles, they broughte
in vitayles to endure a longer space, and
prepa-

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249

prepared all thinges necessary.

They consulted what were best for them
to do. It was agreed, that messengers
should be sent with letters to Anniball,
commaunding him to come to Carthage
with his power to theyr succours.

Certaine of the senators gaue counsell
that a good number of shippes, furnished
with men and ordnance, should sodainly
inuaide the Romaine host and nauy, that
laye in rest at Utica: not mistrusting but
they should fynde the shippes negligent-
ly kepte: whereby wyth small payne they
might oppresse them. On these two poin-
tes the senators agreed. The shippes
were set forth, and letters were also sent
to Anniball. Scipio retourning from the
battaile, leadyng and carpyng with him
the spoyle or pray of many townes, whi-
che he wanne: sente his sayde praye with
the prysoners to his campe at Utica.
He him selfe came to Tunnes, whiche
he found voyde of men of warre. They
were fled after the battaile and lefte the
towne without any garrison. Of the ta-
king of this town Scipio was very glad
as well for that it was naturallie strong
by reason of the site thereof, beside that it
was

The warres betwene the
surely fortified by the industrie of man,
as also for that the place was so commo-
dious for his purpose. It was disaunte
from Carthage twelue myles. Yet from
thence he myght well see the citee of Car-
thage, and also the sea that bette on the
walles of the towne.

Whiles the Romaynes were casting a
trenche and fortifyenge this towne of
Tunnes: they perceyued the nauye of the
Carthaginenses sayling towards Utica.
Then Scipio leaving his woorkes, made
haste wyth his men towarde Utica, to
come to the helpe of his shippes, that laye
at the syege thereof, and came before the
arrayunge of the Carthaginenses: who
triseled the tyme on the sea, beyng in
feare to sette on that enterpryse: so that
Scipio had prouyded wel for the defence
of his shippes before they commynge.

Neuertheles after much trouble and
fighte on the sea, they tooke wyth
them. vi. Romaine shippes, and
returned to Carthage, where
no small ioye was made of
that very smal gayne.

Siphax

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Syphax maketh a newe fyelde with Lelius
and Massanissa: where he is taken prisoner,
and his men put to flyght. Massanissa, then
taketh the citee of Cirtha, & there in haste
marryeth Sophonisba, wyfe to kynge
Syphax. Cap. lxxiii.

He moztowe after the battayle
was foughte, and the kinge Sy-
phax had escaped, as is before
declared, Scipio sente Lelius
and Massanissa, wyth all the Romayne
horsemen, and the lyghtest harneyssed
footemen, and also the Numidians, to fo-
lowe the kynge and Adzuball: whyles
he wente aboute to wyne the townes
and countrey adiacent to Carthage.
They within. xv. dayes came into Nu-
midia: at whose coming a people thereof
called Masculi, receyued gladlye Massa-
nissa, and deliuered him the whole re-
alme as they rightfull kynge, whose co-
ming they had so long desyred, expelling
cleane oute of the cities and fortresses
thereof, all the garrisons of Syphax, so
that he was glad to kepe him within the
bondes of his owne realme. His hearte
swelled at this displeasure, willing to be
reuenged

The warres betwene the
Teuenged, whereunto his wife and her
father much inticed him and pricked him
forwarde. He had great plenty of men
and also of horses, whych much encoura-
ged him to make a newe fiede.

Wherfore he assembled as manye as he
thought able, geuinge them horses & har-
neys: deuidyng his horsemen and foote-
men into companies, appointyng to the
capytaynes, accordyng as he before had
learned of the Romaynes. Thus ha-
uyng all thinges in a readynesse, he
marched towards his ennemies, with as
great an hoste as he had before: but they
were almoste all newe souldiours, and
younge men of warre. When he came
nere the hoste of the Romaynes, he there
fortified his campe. And anone certayne
of his horsemen issued and bad bafe to an
other number of the Romayne horseme.
And who so was beaten, retourned a-
gayne to his companye, and was anone
rescued of another number of his compa-
nye. Thus by diuers issuinge & helpyng
euery parte they companies, beinge ey-
ther ashamed of theyr dyuynge backe,
the battayle beganne to be quicke on
both partyes, so that at the laste the hole
companyes

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companyes of horsemen on bothe partes
were come to the fieds. The number of
kyng Syphar hoste was come so thicke to
the battayle, that the Romaynes were
fayne to recule, and had beene put to the
worse, had not the Romayne legyons of
sotemen come to their succours. At whose
comming the kynges people musyng of
theyr order and maner of fightyng, be-
gan to staye, and at the laste were dyuen
backe, and began to flee. Syphar, willing
to withholde his people from flight, began
to exhorte them to abyde, and manfullye
to fight, shewyng vnto theim, bothe the
shame and also the leoperdye that would
ensue throughe theyr flyng.

And whyles he rode aboute the fiede,
comforting his people, he hapned to come
nere a company of Romaynes, where his
horse was stryken downe and slaine vnder
him, and he taken aliv, and brought
to Lelius. His people fled as fast as they
myghte, and came to the citee of Cirtha,
whych was the chiefe citee of all that
realme. There were of hys men slaine in
that battaile. v. M. and about. ii. M. v. C.
taken. Than saide Massanissa to Lelius:
There were nothyng to me moze plea-
saunt,

saunte, than haupnge now victory, to visite my fathers kingedome, whiche after my longe exile, I haue nowe recovered. But the tyme wyll not suffer vs to rest from our enterpryse. Wherefoze, if ye wyl suffer me, to take wyth me all the horsemen, and the kynge also now prysoner. I wil go before you to Cirtha, where I shal tynde euery man so supprysed wyth feare that I shal soone wyne it wyth smal resistance: ye, with your footemen may come after me small iourneys at youre ease.

To this his deuise Lelius assented. And Massanissa with his horsemen hasted, tyl he came to the walles of the citee of Cirtha where he called certaine of the towne to him, and desired to haue certaine of the noble men of the citee to come forth and speake wyth him, whiche done, he moued them gentillye, to yelde vp their citee: But they, not knowyng of the takyng of their king, in no wyse wold be perswaded to submit them selves to the Romaynes. The caused Massanissa the kynge Siphax to be brought before the bound as a prysoner. After which pitiful sight the citezens partelye for feare, partly trustyng there by to obtayne fauor of Massanissa & of the Romaines,

Romaines, opened the gates of the citee. And Massanissa, leauynge first the gates & wals furnished with his people to thintent none of the citee should escape out: he with greate speede rode to the kynges palace. Where at his firste entre he founde Sophonisba, the wife of Siphax, daughter of Asdruball of Carthage, who abode his commyng at the gate of his plalaice. When she espied hym comyng among a great route of men of armes, she iudging partly by his goodly armure partly by his rich apparaille, that he was the kynge: she fel on hir knees before hym and said: The goddess, thy strengthe, and thy good fortune haue giuen the ful power to do with vs whatsoeuer shalbe thy pleasure. Reuerthelesse if the prayer of a poore woman may take place with hir lord, that hathe power of lyfe and of death: I humbly beseeche the, by that royal maiestie, wherein of late also we were, & for the loue of the name of the people and cuntry of Numidia, whiche appertained bothe to Siphax and to you: for the loue also of the goodis of this place, whome I desire to sende the better & more prosperous coming hither, than they gaue to Siphax a departynge hens,

The warres betwene the
beng, that thou wilt graunte me to be thy
prisoner, and whatsoeuer thy pleasure be
to do with me, I shal not refuse it: so that
thou suffer me not to come into the cruell
and proude dominion of any Romaine. I
had leauer auenture to yelde me into the
power of a Numidian, and of one that is
borne in mine owne countrey of Affrica,
than to the hands of a stranger. For it is
not vnknownen to you, howe muche the
daughter of Asdruball and a Carthag-
nense bozne, hath cause to feare the hand
of a Romaine. And in case thou canste
none other wyle helpe my desire, I mosse
hartlye require the, to slea me: and thus
by death deliuer me from the daunger of
the Romaines.

This quene being of excellent beautie,
and in hir lusty flozishing age, what with
her humble behauoure, what wyth her
fayze speche, so perswaded the king Mas-
sanissa, that he not only toke her to mercy
but also hauing the victoꝝ of her, and the
hole citie, he became so captiue to her by
loue, that he taking her by the right hand
promised her, her request, and thereupon
he mounted into the kinges palaice. Thā
he began to dꝛygle in hys imagination,
by

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by what meanes he mighte perfoꝛme his
promise vnto the queene. And whan he
could fynde no way to brynge his purpose
to passe, as one that was ouercome wyth
blinde loue, he intended a solythe and a
shameful diuise, which was, to be married
incontinent vnto her the same dape: thin-
kinge by the mariage of her vnto him, he
had taken a waye all occasion bothe from
Lelius and also from Scipio, of doing her
any hurt or displeasure. Whan the mari-
age was finished, Lelius with his host of
footemen came to the citie of Cyztha and
knowing of the sodeine wedding, he was
displeased with the acte, that he was min-
ded to take her from the plesāt bed of her
new husband, and to send her to Scipio,
with her husband Syphar and other pri-
soners. But at the laste, he beinge ouer-
come by thintercessiō of Massanissa, who
remitted the order of that matter to the
iudgement of Scipio: he sent Syphar and
other prisoners to the emperour Scipio.
After whose departing, he by the helpe of
Massanissa, receyued the other townes
and cities of that countrey of Numidia in
to his handes: which before were kept by
the retinue of kynge Syphar.

Syphar

The warres betwene the
Sypbar is brought to the campe of Scipio.
Massanissa sendeth to Sophonisba popson,
whyche she wythoute feare dzyneketh.
Capi. lxx.

When tidinges came into the Ro-
maine campe, of the cominge of
Siphar, and the other noble cap-
tives: great was the number of
people that ran to beholde them.
The kinge being bound, was carped for
most, and after him folowed a great num-
ber of the nobilitie of Numidia. And as
the opinyon of men is dyuers, so dyuers
were the tales of the people, extolling the
honour of the victorie by the mightye po-
wer of Sypbar, and by the noble fame of
the people that was overcome. There
was recounted the mightye power of the
kyng, to whose maiestie in one day. ii. of
the mooste noble seignories of the worlde
sued for his fauoure and frendshyp, that
is to say the Romains and the Carthagi-
nenses. The Romains sent theyr valiant
Emperoure and Capitaine Scipio, ones
ly with. ii. galeis that bare fife oozes on
euerie syde into Affrica, to seke his ampe-
rie, leauing in Spaine, than his prouince
all

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 254
all his hoste and greate charge. Agayne
Asdrubal, the capitaine of the Carthagy-
nenses, not onely came into hys coun-
trei for amittie, but also he gaue hym hys
daughter in maryage, for the moze sure
confyrmation of aliaunce betwene them.
Some rehearsed the power and actes of
Siphar to be such, that he had driue Mas-
sanissa out of his realme, bringynge hym
to suche extreme calamitie, that hys lyfe
coude none other wyse be saued, but by
the bryte and fame of his death: and he
after gladd to hyde his heade in dennes
or caues, and to liue in the forrestes and
wooddes lyke as a wyld beast.
With these and such like famous reporte
of the beholders he was brought into the
tente of Scipio: who was by hys pre-
sence and sight much moued with pyttee,
consyderynge the honoure that he of olde
time had knowen him in, and conferring
the same to his present misery. Whā Sci-
pio after salutatiōs made & other cōmun-
cation betwene thē had, asked him, what
he wold haue hym to do to him, seyng he
not only refused the amittie of the Romai-
nes, but also wyllengly gaue theim bat-
tyle. To whom the king answered, that
he

The warres betwene the
he knewe well, that he had offended, and
he confessed, that he was not in his ryght
mynde, whan he moued warre agaynst
them. He was madde, when he did forget
the commyng of Scipio into hys realme,
and the bonde of alyaunce that he then
made with hym: but specially whan he
receiued into his house a matrone of Car
thage, of whose hot loue and maryge the
fire byndes had al redy set fire in his roi
all palaice. That madde and pestilent fu
rie, by hir intisement neuer ceased, til she
had turned his herte and mynde from his
olde friendes the Romaines: causing him
to pursue the warre agaynst them. Neuer
thelesse (sayde he) in all my mysery I haue
nothyng that so much doth comforte me,
and reioyse my herte, as when I beholde
the same pestilent madde furye now to be
entred the house of my mooste ennemye.
And when I consyder that Massaniſsa is
no more wyse then Siphar was, but that
he more madly, & with lesse temperaunce
hath receiued hir, then euer I dyd.
With these wordes of the king, Scipio
was not a littell troubled, & then heringe
the greate offence layed to Massaniſsa he
saue good cause, why he should geue cre
dence

Romaynes and the Carthaginiales. 255
dence therto. Consydering the great harme
made in the marriage, without the aduise
of Lelius, and without abyding his com
mynge. This acte also semed worse, and
more to be abhored, consydryng that he
beinge a yonge man in Spaine, was ne
uer befoze taken with the loue of any cap
tue or prysoner.

As he was musyng hereon, anon Le
lius & Massaniſsa came vnto hym, whom
in open audience he merylye and ioyfully
receined, giuyng them greate thanks
and praises for their diligece in that iour
ney shewed. But anon: takinge Massani
ſsa alone with hym into a secrete place,
he sayd thus vnto hym.

I knowe right wel Massaniſsa, that you
dyd perceyue some good qualities and ver
tues in me, whan you fyrste came into
Spayne to me, desyryng there my frend
shyp and amitie: and afterward in Affri
ca, when ye hollye committed youre selfe
into my gouernaunce. But at that tyme
ye thought youre selfe, that there was no
vertue in me, which ye so muche esteemed
as temperaunce and continency: of which
also I truly did mooste glory of my selfe.
And these vertues Massaniſsa I wolde ye
should

The warres betwene the
 Syphar is brought to the campe of Scipio,
 Massanissa sendeth to Sophonilba popson,
 Whyche she wythoute feare dyspnyeth.
 Capi. lxx.

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 maine campe, of the cominge of
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 tives: great was the number of
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 The king being bound, was caried for-
 most, and after him folowed a great num-
 ber of the nobilitie of Numidia. And as
 the opinyon of men is dyuers, so dyuers
 were the tales of the people, extolling the
 honour of the victorie by the mightye po-
 wer of Syphar, and by the noble fame of
 the people that was overcome. There
 was recounted the mightye power of the
 kynge, to whose maiestie in one day. ii. of
 the mooste noble seignories of the worlde
 sued for his fauoure and frendshyp, that
 is to say the Romans and the Carthagi-
 nenses. The Romans sent theyr valiant
 Emperoure and Capitaine Scipio, one-
 ly with. ii. galeis that bare fife oozes on
 euerye syde into Affrica, to seke his am-
 tie, leauing in Spaine, than his prouince
 all

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 254
 all his hoste and greate charge. Agayne
 Asdrubal, the capitaine of the Carthagy-
 nenses, not onely came into hys coun-
 trey for amitie, but also he gaue hym hys
 daughter in maryage, for the moze sure
 confyrmation of aliaunce betwene them.
 Some rebearfed the power and actes of
 Syphar to be such, that he had driue Mas-
 sanissa out of his realme, bringynge hym
 to suche extreme calamitie, that hys lyfe
 coulde none other wyse bee saued, but by
 the bzuite and fame of his death: and he
 after gladd to hyde his heade in dennes
 or caues, and to liue in the Forrestes and
 wooddes lyke as a wyld beast.
 With these and such like famous reporte
 of the beholders he was brought into the
 tente of Scipio: who was by hys pre-
 sence and sight much moued with pytye,
 consyderynge the honour that he of olde
 time had knowen him in, and conferring
 the same to his present misery. Whā Sci-
 pio after salutatiōs made & other cōmun-
 cation betwene the had, asked him, what
 he wold haue hym to do to him, seyng he
 not only refused the amitie of the Roma-
 nes, but also wyllinglie gaue them bat-
 taye. To whom the king answered, that
 he

The warre betwene the
he knewe well, that he had offended, and
he confessed, that he was not in his ryght
mynde, whan he moued warre agaynst
them. He was madde, when he did forget
the comynge of Scipio into hys realme,
and the bonde of alyaunce that he then
made with hym: but speciall ye whan he
receiued into his house a matrone of Car
thage, of whose hot loue and maryge the
fire bondes had al redy set fire in his roi
all palaice. That madde and pestilent fu
rie, by hir intisement neuer ceased, til she
had turned his herte and mynde from his
olde friendes the Romaines: causing him
to pursue the warre against them. Penet
thelesse (sayde he) in all my mysery I haue
nothyng that so much doth comforte me,
and reioyse my herte, as when I beholde
the same pestilent madde furye now to be
entred the house of my mosse enemye.
And when I consyder that Passanissa is
no more wyse then Siphar was, but that
he more madly, & with lesse temperaunce
hath receiued hir, then euer I dyd.
With these wordes of the king, Scipio
was not a littell troubled, & then heringe
the greate offence layed to Passanissa he
saue good cause, why he should geue cre
dence

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 255
dence therto. Consydering the great harm
made in the marriage, without the aduise
of Lelius, and without abyding his com
mynge. This acte also semed worse, and
more to be abhoyred, consydryng that he
beinge a yonge man in Spaine, was ne
uer before taken with the loue of any cap
tue or prysoner.

As he was musyng hereon, anon Le
lius & Passanissa came vnto hym, whom
in open audience he merylye and ioyfully
receiued, giuyng them greate thanks
and praises for their diligece in that iour
ney shewed. But anon: takinge Passa
nissa alone with hym into a secreete place,
he sayd thus vnto hym.

I know right wel Passanissa, that you
dyd perceyue some good qualities and ver
tues in me, whan you fyrste came into
Spayne to me, desyryng there my frend
shyp and amittie: and after ward in Affri
ca, when ye hollye committed youre selfe
into my gouernaunce. But at that tyme
ye thought youre selfe, that there was no
vertue in me, which ye so muche esteemed
as temperaunce and continency: of which
also I truly did mosse glory of my selfe.
And these vertues Passanissa I wolde ye
should

The Wartes betwene the
Sypbar is brought to the campe of Scipio,
Massanissa sendeth to Sophonisba popson,
whyche she wythoute feare dzyneketh.
Capi. lxx.

When tidynges came into the Ro-
maine campe, of the cominge of
Siphar, and the other noble cap-
tiues: great was the number of
people that ran to beholde them.
The kinge being bound, was carped for
most, and after him folowed a great num-
ber of the nobilitie of Numidia. And as
the opinyon of men is dyuers, so dyuers
were the tales of the people, ertelling the
honour of the victorie by the mightye po-
wer of Sypbar, and by the noble fame of
the people that was overcome. There
was recounted the mightye power of the
kyng, to whose maiestie in one day. ii. of
the mooste noble seignories of the worlde
sued for his fauoure and frendshyp, that
is to say the Romains and the Carthagi-
nenses. The Romains sent theyr valiant
Emperoure and Capitaine Scipio, one-
ly with. ii. galeis that bare fye oozes on
euerie syde into Affrica, to seke his am-
tie, leauing in Spaine, than his prouince
all

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 254
all his hoste and greate charge. Agayne
Asdrubal, the capitaine of the Carthagy-
nenses, not onely came into hys coun-
trei for amitie, but also he gaue hym hys
daughter in maryage, for the moze sure
confermyng of aliaunce betwene them.
Some rehearsed the power and actes of
Siphar to be such, that he had driue Mas-
sanissa out of his realme, bringynge hym
to suche extreme calamitie, that hys lyfe
coulde none other wyse bee saued, but by
the byrite and fame of his death: and he
after gladd to hyde his heade in denues
or caues, and to liue in the forrestes and
wooddes lyke as a wyld beast.
With these and such like famous reporte
of the beholders he was brought into the
tente of Scipio: who was by hys pre-
sence and sight much moued with pyttee,
consyderynge the honoure that he of olde
time had knowen him in, and conferrynge
the same to his present misery. Whā Sci-
pio after salutatiōs made & other cōmun-
cation betwene thē had, asked him, what
he wold haue hym to do to him, scynge he
not only refused the amitie of the Romay-
nes, but also wyllengly gaue theim bat-
tyle. To whom the king answered, that
he

The warres betwene the
he knewe well, that he had offended, and
he confessed, that he was not in his ryght
mynde, whan he moued warre agaynste
them. He was madde, when he did forget
the commyng of Scipio into hys realme,
and the bonde of alyuance that he then
made with hym: but specially whan he
receiued into his house a matrone of Car
thage, of whose hot loue and maryge the
fire byndes had al redy set fire in his roi
all palaice. That madde and pestilent fu
rie, by hir intisement neuer ceased, til she
had turned his herte and mynde from his
olde friendes the Romaines: causing him
to pursue the warre against them. Neuer
thelesse (sayde he) in all my mysery I haue
nothyng that so much doth comfozte me,
and reioyse my herte, as when I beholde
the same pestilent madde fure now to be
entred the house of my mosse enemye.

And when I consyder that Massaniſsa is
no moze wyse then Siphar was, but that
he moze madly, & with lesse temperaunce
hath receiued hir, then euer I dyd.

With these wordes of the king, Scipio
was not a littell troubled, & then heringe
the greate offence layed to Massaniſsa he
saue good cause, why he should geue cre
dence

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 255
dence therto. Consydering the great harme
made in the mariage, without the aduise
of Aelius, and without abyding his com
myng. This acte also semed worse, and
moze to be abhoyred, consydryng that he
beinge a yonge man in Spaine, was ne
uer befoze taken with the loue of any cap
tue or prysoner.

As he was musing hereon, anon Aeli
us & Massaniſsa came vnto hym, whom
in open audience he merylye and ioyfully
receined, giuyng them greate thanks
and praises for their diligece in that iour
ney they had. But anon: takinge Massa
niſsa alone with hym into a secrete place,
he sayd thus vnto hym.

I know right wel Massaniſsa, that you
dyd perceyue some good qualities and ver
tues in me, whan you fyrste came into
Spayne to me, desyryng there my frend
shyp and amitie: and afterward in Affri
ca, when ye hollye committed youre selfe
into my gouernaunce. But at that tyme
ye thought youre selfe, that there was no
vertue in me, which ye so muche esteemed
as temperaunce and continency: of which
also I truly did mosse glory of my selfe.
And these vertues Massaniſsa I wolde ye
should

The warres betwene the
shoulde ioine vnto other noble qualities
and vertues, wherwith ye are imbued.
For beleue me, ther is not so much daun-
ger to men of our yonge age by armed e-
nemies, as is by voluptuous pleasure of
oure wanton desyres, whych euer are re-
dye to vanquyshe vs. And who so euer
through temperaunce can bypde and sub-
due those affections, is worthie more ho-
nour, and hath achieved a greater victo-
ry, then we haue nowe had by the taking
of kyng Syphar. The actes whych ye
haue so valiauntly and nobly done in my
absence, remaine daylye in my memo-
ry: the other your euell actes I had leuer ye
did call to remembraunce your selfe, then
that I should declare them to your great
shame. Syphar, by the good fortune of
the Romaynes, is nowe overcome and
taken. Wherefore he, his wyfe, his king-
dome, his possessions, his towne and ca-
stelles, his people, inhabitauntes of the
same, wyth all that euer to Syphar be-
longed, is nowe a praye due to the peo-
ple of Rome. The king and his wyfe (al-
though she had not bene a citizen of Car-
thage, and although her father were not
the capitaine of our ennemies) oughte to
be

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 1256
be sente to Rome, and there she ought to
abide the iudgemēt of the senatoures and
people of the cite, for that she turned the
minde of the king her husband from our
frendshippe, perswading him to take ar-
mour agaynst vs. Wherefore nowe ouer-
come your owne affectionate minde, and
beware that with one vice, ye disgrace
not so manye your good vertues: and by
one offence, lose the reward and the than-
kes, whych by your merites ye haue here
tofore worthely deserved.

With these secreete rebukes Massinissa
was not onely ashamed, but also constrai-
ned to wepe, sayenge, that he woulde al-
wayes be at his commaundment. Neuer
the lesse he despyed him, as muche as
mighte be admitted, to regarde the faith-
ful promise y he had vnauidedlye made
vnto her: whych was, that he woulde de-
liuer her into none other mans handes.
After these wordes, all banished he depar-
ted to his owne tente, where remayning
alone, he syghed & sobbed a greate season
so vehemētly, that such as were without
his tent might easely heare him. At the
laste, makinge dolefull lamentacion, he
called to him one of his faithful & secreete
M. ii. ser.

the ruanter, who had the keepinge of his
poyson, accordinge to the vsage of kinges
and princes: who vsed to haue the same
euer kepte nere to them thereby to ouer-
come the incertaintye of fortune: parte
of this poyson put into drinke, he sent by
him in a cuppe to Sophonisba, commaun-
ding him to saye to her, that Massanissa
would (if he had could) gladly haue kepte
his first promise made vnto her, as beco-
meth a mā to do to his wyfe, but sens it
lyeth not in his power to perfourme it,
yet wil he kepe his seconde promes made
vnto her, whiche was that she should not
whyles she were on liue, come into the
daunger of any Romaine. Wherefore he
willeth her, to remember the emperoure
her father, and the .ii. kinges, to whome
she hath bene maryed and thereafter re-
garde her owne honour.

When the messenger had presented to
Sophonisba the poyson, and done his
message, she answered: I wyll receyue
this maryage gifte, and that gladly, if a
husband can geue no better gifte to his
wyfe: But (sayde she) I praye the shewe
Massanissa, that my deathe had not bene
so greuous to me, if I had not maryed so
nere

the goinge to my graue. And without ge-
uinge other sharpe wordes to the messan-
ger, she without feare or trembling, toke
the drinke empoysoned, and dranke it
of.

When this was shewed vnto Scipio,
lest Massanissa, being a fierce yong man,
and takinge this displeasauntlye in his
minde, myght do some hurt to him selfe:
he called him vnto him: sometime comfort-
ing him, sometye gentilly rebukynge
him, for that he had corrected his fyrste
folly with an other foolyshe acte, making
of the thinge moze sorowful than neded.

On the next daye, to the intent he would
put al such fantasies out of his minde: he
ascended to the place of iudgement, wher
he caused all his hoste to assemble.

There he fyrste gaue to Massanissa, the
name of a king: & after great laudes and
prayes geuen to him, he also gaue hym
many ryche giftes, as a crowne of golde,
wyth a greate bolle of golde, a chayre of
Iuoye, a walking staffe of Iuoye, a riche
gowne, wyth a cote of bawdekyn, vsed to
be woꝛne in signe of victoꝛye. And to set
the matter forth to his further honoure,
he declared, that in any triumph at Rome
after

The warres betwene the
 after any victorie, hadde of theyr ennea-
 myes, no man could weare any more no-
 ble apparaille then this, whiche he hadde
 geuen him. Sayeng also, that of al straū-
 gers the citezens of Rome iudged onely
 Massanissa worthy to be presented wyth
 those gyftes. Then called he for the
 Aelius to whom he also gaue great pray-
 ses, and rewarded him wyth a crowne of
 golde. And after he rewarded other his
 souldiours, according to theyr desertes.
 By this gentle handeling and honoure
 geuen to the kinge Massanissa, his trou-
 bled minde was pacified: and he was put
 in hope after the death of Syphar, to be
 ruler of all Numidia. When Scipio sente
 Aelius to Rome, wyth Syphar and other
 prysoners, wyth whome also wente the
 ambassadeours of Massanissa, and he af-
 ter theyr departynge, wente agayne to
 Tunisse, where he encamped his
 hoste, and fortified the place, ma-
 kinge an ende of the workes
 whiche he before had
 begunne.

Aelius

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 Aelius wyth kyng Syphar and other pryso-
 ners, and the ambassadeours of Massanissa,
 came to Rome, Massanissa is made
 kyng of his realme of Numi-
 dia. Capit. lxxvi.

The Carthaginenses, hearynge
 of the taking of Syphar in whō
 they had as much trust, as they
 hadde in Asdruball and his ar-
 mye: began then to be faynte harted.
 Wherefore sens they knewe no further
 helpe in the warre, they sente. xxx. of the
 moste noble senatoures of theyr cite to
 Scipio, to intreate of peace. These aunci-
 ente noble men, so sone as they came in-
 to the paullion of the Pretor before Sci-
 pio, of a flatterynge faction they fell pro-
 strate to the grounde, and then made an
 humble and a flatterynge oration, not
 purginge theim selues and theyr cite of
 theyr offence, but layeng the beginnynge
 of all the defaulte in Anniball and his
 adherentes. Despyng to haue the cite
 pardoned of this offence, sins they trusted
 that the Romans would not despye theyr
 destruction, but that they woulde be con-
 tēted with their humble submission as of
 people

The warres betwene the
people ouercome, whiche would be glad
to obey to any thinge that he should com-
maund them to do. To whom Scipio an-
swered that his comminge into Affrica
was vpon trust, to retourne home agayn
to Rome with victoꝛye, not to conclude
peace, whyche his hope, fortune also fa-
uouring, had much aduanced by prospe-
rous successe. Neuertheles (said he) nowe
hauinge the victoꝛye almoste in my han-
des, yet wil I not refuse peace, to thintet
al men may knowe, that the Romaynes
do lustly both begin & ende theyꝝ warres.
And these shalbe the conditions of youre
peace. We shall restore vs all youre priso-
ners, & our fugitiue runawayes. We shal
remoue youre armie oute of Italie and
France. We shal forbear to meddle anye
more in Spaine. We shal departe from al
the illes which be betwene Italie and Af-
frica. We shall deliuer vs all your longe
shippes, excepte only xx. We shal gyue vs
of wheate. v. C. M. bushelles, of barlye
iii. C. M. bushels, of money, v. M. talents
And thre dayes respite I do giue you
(sayde he) to seke your aduise, whether
these conditions of peace please you or
not. And in case ye be contented wyth
them

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with them, ye shall haue truce of me, and
sende your ambassadours to Rome to the
senate, for a confyrmacion of the same.

The Carthaginens, myndyng onely
to tracte the time till Anniball wyth his
power might come into Affrica, thoughte
they would refuse no condicions of peace,
that were demaunded to be done for their
partes. Wherefoze they sente some lega-
tes vnto Scipio, to take truce, other they
sent to Rome, to aske peace, leading with
them certaine prisoners and fugitiues for
a colour, to the entent they myght there-
by the better obteigne peace.

Then were these newes publyshed a-
bode in the citee, which caused great ioy
and gladnes.

Whyles these thinges were woꝛking,
Lelius with kyng Syphar, and other no-
ble men prisoners of Numidia, wer come
to Rome. Where he declared to the sena-
tors by order all thinges which had ben
done in Affrica, to theyꝝ greate comforte
and also hope of good end of that boiage.

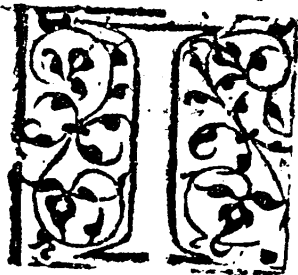
Sone after were the ambassadours of
Massanissa broughte into the senate.
Where syttinge they sayde, they were glad
and ioyful, that Scipio hadde noblye and
happily

The warres betwene the
happly sped in Affrica, to the no smal co-
forte of the senate, and also of the citee of
Rome: Than dyd they geue thanks for
that Scipio had not onely geue to Massa-
nissa the name of a kynge, but also had
made hym a kynge, restoringe him to his
fathers kingdome, if it were the pleasure
of the fathers of the senate. Wherby,
that it pleased Scipio, not onely to geue
great praises to Massanissa openly, but al-
so that he had gyuen hym greate giftes,
whiche to deserue he hath and wyl dyl-
gently indouour him selfe, desyringe that
the sayd name of a kynge, with other the
beneficial giftes of Scipio, might be con-
fyrmed by the decree of the senate: And
furthermore they sayde, that if it myghte
stand with theyr pleasure, Massanissa de-
syred them, to send vnto him certayne pri-
soners of Numidia, whyche were kepte
in pryson at Rome: by the restoringe of
whom, he shuld purchas much honoꝝ and
loue among the communes of the cuntry.
To these their saynges and demaundes,
it was then answered by the senate, that
the prosperous actes of Scipio, doone in
Affrica, were as much to theyr comforte,
as to the kinges. And that the honoure
and

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and the giftes, whyche Scipio had gyuen
to Massanissa, were well bestowed, and
according as he had wel deserued: whiche
his actes they all dyd ratifye and allowe,
Besydes whiche his giftes, they also sent
vnto Massanissa the kynge, by them, dy-
uers other presentes of apparayle, mete
to be woꝝne both in the tyme of peace and
of warre. Furthermore, the embassa-
dours of the kinge were honourably re-
warded. The prisoners also of Numidia,
at theyr deliuerie & sendyng home, had
certayne apparayle gyue them. And thus
plentifully enriched, they had al departed
towards Affrica, hadde not the newes
of the coming of the legates of Carthage
caused the senatours to staye Lelius and
them all for a season, to tarye their com-
ming, bycause the communication of the
peace with them, should be in presente of
Lelius.

¶ Mago is discomfited by the Romaynes, and
wounded, of whych wound he dyeth, Anni-
bal by the commaundemente of the senate
leaueth Italye, and sayleth towarde
Carthage, makinge greate doole
for his departing. Ca. lxxii.

The warres betwene the



In the same Sommer whyles these thynges were wrought and decreed in Africa, and at Rome, Quintus Marro, than beyng Pretor, and Marcus Cornelius, beinge Proconsull in the costes of Lombardy, had battayle with Hago the brother of Anniball, whych was earnestly fought on both partes: and had not the Romayne bozemen sodeynelye invaded the footemen, soze fightynge, and broken theyr aray, it hadde bene lykely to haue tourned the Romaines to the woyle. But after the aray was broken, they were faine to recule: And Hago so wel handled hym selfe in the reculyng, that soo longe as he abode unhurt, he defended his companye, and caused them to recule in good order and aray. But at the laste he was soze wounded, and fel to the ground, and with peine was borne out of the fiede alive. After whose ouerthrowe hys people fled on all partes, whereby many of them were slayne. He losse at that battayle above. v. M. men. And the Romaines escaped not free: for they also lost then above. ii. M. iii. C. men, with many capytaynes that

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that bare offices of honour. The night followinge Hago departed with greate silence, and makynge as greate hasty iourneys as his wound wolde suffer hym, he came to the sea costes of Liguria, where he founde the messangers of Carthage, that fewe dayes befoze were arrived, and there abode his cominge. Theyr message was, that with as much speede as myghte be, he shuld hie him to Affrica, & that hys brother Annibal had also lyke commandement by other messangers to do the same certifying him that the state of Carthage was not now such, that they were able to repe styl both Italy and Fraunce by force of armes. Hago partly moued by the commandement of the senate of Carthage, partly fearynge lest his enemies, pursuing him, might by his longe taryng doe him further displeasure: Againe, trusting on his way homewardesto be better reueled and cured of hys woundes: he with speede put his company into shippes, and departed. But he had not passed the Ile of Sardinia, but he dyed of his maladye. After whose death, diuers of his shippes, being beaten with the Rozmes of the sea, were taken by the nauy of the Romaines that

The warres betwene the
that laye the same tyme about Sardinia.

All this yere Annibal, and. Cn. Serui-
lius the consul, lay both with their hostes
in the parties of the Brutians, withoute
anye memorabile battaile betwene them
foughten. And than came the legates of
Carthage vnto him, calling him home to
Carthage to theyr succours, whose mes-
sage he hearde royinge and lamentynge,
and with peine could he forbear weping.
And after a pauise he sayde: Nowe they
openlye call me backe, that befoze couer-
lye imagyned to fetch me from hense,
in that they denyed for to sende mee mo-
ney and menne of warre, to supplie the
roumes of such as lacked.

Wherefoze I would all men dyd knowe,
that the banquishynge nowe of Annibal
is not by the people of Rome: but by the
senate of Carthage, throughe despyte
and enuie. And of this my shamefull re-
tourne, Scipio wyl no more reioyce, than
wyl Hanno of Carthage, the olde enne-
mie of my whole familie.

After greate doolefull mone made, he
toke the sea hym selfe, and his chiefe men
of warre, wyth shippes therfore prepa-
red: leauyng certayne vnpzoffytable soules
dyours,

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dyours, as a defence of suche small for-
tresses as remayned than in hys possesi-
on, moze for feare than for any good wyl
or saythe.

It hathe not lyghtly bene sene or hard
of, that euer man departed from hys coun-
trei (beyng exiled there fro) wyth moze
heauynesse, than Annibal departed from
the countrey of his ennemies. Ful often,
whan he was on the sea, he loked backe
towards the sea costes of Italy, accusing
bothe the goddes and also men, ye & cur-
syng hym selfe, for that he after hys victo-
rye at the battaile of Cannas, had not in
continent brought his fierse and bludde
knightes to the takynge of Rome. Thus
bewaylyng his euyl fortune, he leste the
possession of Italy, which he had kept the
space of. xvi. yeres after that he fyrst pas-
sed the mountaynes of the same.

¶ Annibal arryueth in Africa, and desy-
reth to speake wyth Scipio, whiche he
graunteth hym, and thereupon they
mete at a place appoynted.

Cap. lxviii.

Nowe

The warres betwene the

Nowe was. M. Fulcius Sillio, the legate of Scipio come to Rome, with the ambassadours of Carthage, to requyre peace of the fathers of the senate. But the senators would not suffer them to enter the citye, but appoynted them to abyde wythout the walles. The senators soone after satte in the house of Bellona, whither the Carthaginēses legates were brought and there made an oration, muche like to the other, whiche they besore made unto Scipio, layenge all the blame from the common counsaile vnto Anniball: saying: that he, without the consente of the senate of Carthage, passed both the mountaynes and also the riuer of Iberus, making warre not onely to the Romaines, vpon his owne will and pleasure, but also to the saguntines. Where the mynde of the senate of Carthage was euer, to kepe the league & amitie inuiolate which was taken besore with the Romaines. In conclusyon they declared, that the summe of theyr charge geuen them, to desyre of the senate of Rome, was, that they myghte continue in the same league and condicions of amitye and peace with the

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the Romaines, as were besore at the last truse taken wyth them by Luctatius, the beyng consull.

Then diuers of the auncient senators of Rome, whiche were presente at the league taken by Luctatius, demaunded sundrye questions of the legates of Carthage, concernynge the sayde condicions of peace contayned in that league.

Whereunto they, beyng all yong men, answered, that they were not of age to remember that treatye. This aunswere was greatly suspected of the fathers.

Wherefore they sayde with one assente, that the Carthaginēses, accordynge to theyr olde accustomed craft and falsehood, had chosen suche ambassadours to requyre a peace to be renewed, whereof they had no knoweledge nor remembrance. Whereupon the legates were caused to auoyde the place, whiles they counsayled vpon the matter. And after longe deliberate discussinge thereof, Lelius and Fulcius declared to them the opinion of Scipio, touchinge this peace, whiche was, that he did not mislike the meanyng of the Carthaginēses, in case they did not sende to call home Anniball and Paganus.

The warres betwene the
out of Italye: but if they so dyd, than he
thoughte they would dissemble the mat-
ter vnto their capitaines compynge wyth
succours, and after ward forgetting they
promise, would renewe the warre. Upon
these wordes the whole counsaile agreed
to the sapenge of M. Valerius Leuius,
who sayde, that they were to be taken as
espies, and not as ambassadours, & that
they should be commaunded to auoyde I-
talye, hauing guides sent with theym, to
condukte them vnto theyr shippes. And
that worde shoulde be sente to Scipio, to
procede in the warre as he had begunne.
¶ Nowe in the meane space, whyles the
legates of Scipio and of Carthage were
at Rome, Cn. Octavius, with ii. C. ship-
pes of cariage, & .ccc. other long shippes,
to guyde them, passed from Sicilia, to go
into Affrica: but the windes were so ve-
hemente, & the stormes so importunate,
that he with the long shippes with paine
saued him selfe in a porte neere to the
mountayne of Apollo. The other hulkes
of carpage were driuen to diuers places
on the coste of Affrica, in the syghte of the
men of Carthage. The Carthaginenses
perceluing this great praye easy to be ta-
ken

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ken, forgetting theyr desyre of peate, and
also the time of truse taken with Scipio,
(yet mention of them both was made to
them by certaine of the cite) they by hole
assente appointed Asdrubail, with fiftye
shippes to gather together, and to bryng
home those seabeaten and disparpled ship-
pes, with al that was in them. At whose
comyng the shypmen fled away, leauyng
theyr vesselles, and he without any resis-
tence drewe them with him to carthage
Scipio consideringe this their acte to be
done, before the legates were retourned
from Rome, or that they knewe what
answere they shoulde receyue, eyther of
warre or of peace, also seinge the time of
truse was not yet expyred: tooke it to be
much more heynous and displeasaunt.
¶ Soone after this breake of truse on the
parte of the Carthaginenses, arrived Le-
lius and Fuluius, with the legates of
Carthage, to whom Scipio, declarynge
theyr vntrew dealinge, commaunded
theym to departe, and he wyth all speede
prepared for the warre.

This yere folowing were chosen Con-
sulles, M. Seruilius Geminus, and L.
Claudius Nero. Seruilius was appoynted
P. n. ii.

ted to Vetruria, as his prouince: & Claudius Nero to Affrica. He had ordeyned fyste good shippes, where wyth he and his hoste should passe into Affrica, where he should be equall ruler with Scipio.

Howe was Anniball with his armye, arriued safe in Affrica, and by land came to Zama, fise dayes tourneye from Carthage. From thens sente he spies before hym, to knowe the state of the Romaine campe & armye. These spies by chaunce happed on the skoute watche of the Romaines, and were taken and brought to Scipio. Who demaunded of theym the cause why theyr capitayne sent them thither. They aunswered, to espye and to haue knoweledge of his army and order. When Scipio called certayne of his captaynes, called tribunes, commaundynge theym to go with the spies of Anniball, & to conduct them through al his campe; not fearing to shewe them, what so euer they desyred to see: When they had gone rounde aboute a longe season, and were brought agayne to him, he demaunded of them, whether they had well accordeinge to theyr mindes, viewed his campe and hoste. They sayd yea. Then sayde he: Go
ye to

ye to Anniball, and make to him relation of that ye haue seene. Thus let he theym departe, sendinge with theym guydes to conduct them out of daunger.

The spies, when they came to Anniball declared vnto him howe Scipio had intreated theym. Besides that they shewed him, that Massanissa the same daye was come to Scipio, with. vi. M. footemen, & iiii. M. horsemen. But ther was nothing that euer they tolde him, so much abated his courage, as the libertie that he gaue his espies, to viewe his order and power. For that great boldenes of his enemy, he iudged and knewe well proceeded of some great assuraunce y he had in his strength and good order. Wherefore althoughe he him selfe was the first cause and occasion both of the warre & also of the truse breakeynge: Yet he deuised him selfe to speake with Scipio, thinkinge before anye battayle, whiles his power was not assayed he should obtayne peace with more easie conditions, than he should, in case it chanced him to be overcome. Wherefore he set a messenger to Scipio, desiringe that he might haue libertie to speake with hym, & that he would appoynte a place, where they might come together. Scipio refused

The warres betwene the
not to accomplishe his desire. The place
was appoynted, voyde of all deceyte and
gyle. Whither came the. ii. most noble ca-
pitaines of the world, hauing onely eche
of them one interpretour with him, to de-
clare to eche other, what shoulde be spoke
by the. Theyr hostes abode a good space
from them. When they were come toge-
ther, epyther of theym was astonied wth
the sight of the other. So that as persons
amased throughe admiration, they spake
no worde of a good season. At the laste,
Annibal began to speake in maner solo-
wyng.

The witty oration that Annibal made
to Scipio, befoze the battayle be-
twene them. Cap. lxi.

If it be geuen me by the fa-
tal fortune, y^e I which firste
moued this warre agaynst
the people of Rome, & that
so many times haue had the
victorye over them, shoulde nowe of mine
owne voluntary will come to be a suiter
to haue peace: I am gladd, that it is the
chaunce to be the man appointed of the
goddess, of whom I shoulde come to re-

quire the same peace. And among manye
other praises, that be geue vnto the, this
may be as one of the greatest: That An-
nibal to whom the goddess haue geuen so
many victories of the Romanes, shoulde
nowe geue place & obey vnto the. So that
thou maist make an ende of this notable
warre, that hath bene betwene vs, as yet
more to your losse the to ours. Agayne
what worke is this of fortune, y^e I which
firste fought with your father, being con-
sul, in armes wth baners displayed, shoulde
nowe come to his sonne vnarmed, for to
sue for peace: I woulde it had pleased the
goddess, to haue geuen such honest hearts
to our fathers & predecessours, that they
would haue bene contented with the do-
minion of Affrica, and to your fathers to
haue bene contented with the empire of
Rome, For if we make a true rekenyng
neither Sicilia nor sardinia, be a worthy
recōpence of y^e manifold nauies, armies,
and noble capitaines that we haue losse,
throughe our proude contention. But it is
easier to fynde fault wth thynges that
be passed: then it is to amende the same.
And for our partes we haue so coueted o-
thers dominions, that at length we haue
bene

The warres betwene the
not to accomplishe his desire. The place
was appoynted, voyde of all deceyte and
gyle. Whither came the. ii. most noble ca-
pitaines of the world, hauing onely eche
of them one interpretour with him, to de-
clare to eche other, what shoulde be spake
by the. Theyr hostes abode a good space
from them. When they were come toge-
ther, eyther of theym was astonied wth
the sight of the other. So that as persons
amased throughte admiration, they spake
no worde of a good season. At the laste,
Annibal began to speake in maner folo-
wyng.

The witty oration that Anniball made
to Scipio, before the battayle be-
twene them. Cap. lxxix.

If it be geuen me by the fa-
tal fortune, y^e I which firste
moued this warre agaynst
the people of Rome, & that
so many times haue had the
victorye ouer them, shoulde nowe of mine
owne voluntary will come to be a suiter
to haue peace: I am gladd, that it is the
chaunce to be the man appointed of the
goddess, of whom I shoulde come to re-
guyde

quire the same peace. And among manye
other praises, that be geue vnto the, this
may be as one of the greatest: That An-
nibal to whom the goddess haue geuen so
many victories of the Romanes, shoulde
nowe geue place & obey vnto the. So that
thou maist make an ende of this notable
warre, that hath bene betwene vs, as yet
more to your losse the to ours. Agayne
what worke is this of fortune, y^e I which
first fought with your father, being con-
sul, in armes wth baners displayed, shoulde
nowe come to his sonne vnarmed, for to
sue for peace: I woulde it had pleased the
goddess, to haue geuen such honest hearts
to our fathers & predecessours, that they
would haue bene contented with the do-
minion of Affrica, and to your fathers to
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Rome, For if we make a true rekenyng
neither Sicilia nor sardinia, be a worthy
recōpence of y^e manifold nauies, armies,
and noble capitaines that we haue losse,
throught our proude contention. But it is
easier to fynde fault wth thynges that
be passed: then it is to amende the same.
And for our partes we haue so coueted o-
thers dominions, that at length we haue
bene

The warres betwene the
bene fayne to fyght for our owne. We
haue for oure parte not onely warred in
Italye, but also so farre aduanced oure
hoste and power, that at the very gates
of Rome, ye haue sene our standerds and
men of armes. And in like maner we of
Carthage haue bene within the hearyng
of the noyse of youre Romaine campes
and armye. Nowe by youre good fortune
communication of peace is had betwene
vs, whyche we of reason should least care
for. And ye for your partes should chye-
lye desyre. And we nowe intreate thereof
whom it moste behoueth to make peace.
Consyderyng, that what so euer we two
agree vpon, oure cytyes wyll ratifye and
confirme.

Wherfore there lacketh nothyng in vs,
but quiet mindes and peasable hartes.

And for my parte mine age vpon my re-
turne into my countrey from whence I
came forth but yonge, with the tymes
sometime changing to prosperity, some-
time to aduersiti, haue so taught me that
I can be better contented, to folowe rea-
son the byttle fortune. But I feare gret-
ly lest thy youth and thy perpetual felici-
tie, ingēder in the such a fiersenesse, that
thou

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thou wylte not regarde quyet counsaile.
No man shall so aduysedly consyder the
vncertaine chaunces of Fortune, as he
that hathe ben deceiued by fortune: as I
was at the battaile of Trasymenus and
at Cannas, so art thou nowe beyng but
a yong souldiour of age, made a capitaine
the fyrst day. Thou beganste all thynges
with a bolde and a stout courage, and for-
tune neuer fayled the, throught thy desyre
to reuenge thy fathers and thine vncles
death (whereby all your familye was al-
most brought to extreme calamitie) thou
hast purchased the a noble fame. Thou
hast receiued Spaine that was before lost
dryuinge from that countrey. Iiii. notable
armies of the Carthaginenses, that be-
fore byd possesse the same. Afterwarde be-
yng made consull, when other men lac-
ked hertes to defende Italye, theyr owne
countrey, thou tokest on the to sayle into
Africa: where sleayng two great hostes,
and in one houre takynge and burnynge
two riche and stronge campes: And after
the taking of the mighty kynge Syphax,
with manye cytyes and castelles of his
realme, and of oure empire of Carthage:
at the lasse thou hast nowe plucked mee
from

The warres betwene the
frome the possession of Italye : whych
these .xvi. yeres I haue with strong hand
kept and enjoyed. Now hauinge all these
prosperous chaunces, it is lyke, that
thy mynde maye be more desirous of vic-
torie, then of peace. And truelye I haue
knowne yours and suche lyke hertes and
courage, to be euer more great and vali-
aunte, then wyse & profitable. The daies
also haue bene, that fortune dyd in lyke
maner shyne brighte and smile vpon me.
But if the goddes wolde geue vs in pros-
peritie good and right mindes: we wolde
not onely consider thinges that haue hap-
ped, but also what myghte happen vnto
vs. And settinge all other examplis a-
parte, I my selfe may be best a document
of lerning vnto the, for all kyndes of for-
tune. I had not long agoe mine host en-
caped betwene the ryuer of Amenes and
the citie of Rome, and displayed my ban-
ners before the walles of the citie: Nowe
after the losse of my two betherne which
were full good and noble capytaynes, I
am here to succour mine owne trouble and
forevered countrey, glad and desyrous to
praye that mine owne citie maye be deli-
uered from the daungers, where with I
assayled

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assayled then youre citie. Let no man put
to much confidence in high and swelling
fortune. Better it is, and more certayne,
to be sure of peace, then to hope for victo-
ry. The one thou hast now in thine owne
handes: the other is in the hande of the
goddes. Put not the felicitie, whiche in
many yeres thou hast atteigned, into one
houres leopardy. Cal to thy mynde, bothe
thine owne power, and the power of for-
tune: which in war is common. On both
partes, be men and weapons of warre.
And consider, that chaunces be variable
in all our assayes, speciallye in battayle.
And in case thou vanquish vs in battaille
thou shalt not winne so muche glory and
profite, aboue that thou mayst haue of vs
by peace: as thou shalt lose in case fortune
turne agaynst the. For in one houre for-
tune may ouerthrow, that in longe space
hathe bene gotten, and also that is lo-
ked for, which ye trust to haue. Now it is
in thy power, to ioyne all thinges toge-
ther by peace. P. Cornelius. But if it
come to further tryall, we muste bothe
take such fortune as the goddes wyl send
Amonge other examplis of felicitye,
Marcus Attilius may be wel remembered
for

The warres betwene the
 for one, who arryued here in this same
 countrey of Affrica, and winnynge the
 victorie vpon our forefathers the Cartha-
 ginenses, denyed to graunte them peace,
 whiche they instantly required of him.
 But at the last, for that he could not mea-
 sure his felicitie, nor moderate Fortune,
 that so highly aduanced hym: therefore
 his fall was the sowler, by how much he
 was the more higher eleuate in prosperi-
 tie. It belongeth not to hym that asketh
 peace, but to hym that giueth peace to ap-
 pointe the condicions of peace: But we
 knowlegging our defaulte, wyl appoynte
 to oure selues condygne punishmente for
 the same, not refusyng to leaue vnto you
 the possession of such countreys for which
 the warre began, as Sicilia, Sardinia,
 Spayne, and all the Iles within the sea,
 betwene Italie and Affrica. And we of
 Carthage; being contented with Affrica
 onely (sense it hath so pleased the goddes)
 wyl suffer you to enioye the Emppre of
 byuerse straunge countreys and dominy-
 ons, gotten both by sea and by land. Per-
 aduenture in the askinge of peace hereto-
 fore ye haue not bene painely and iustlye
 belte withall, whiche causeth you to my-
 struste

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 struste the faith and promise of the Car-
 thaginenses. But therein, as touching the
 obseruance of peace when it is taken, it is
 much, to be considered what the persons
 be, by whom the peace is requyred. For
 as I haue harde it tolde Scipio, youre fa-
 thers heretofore denied the Carthaginen-
 ses peace, for that the persones that came
 to intreate therof, were of small dignitie
 or estimacion. But now do I Annibal re-
 quire peace, which I wold not desyre, on-
 lesse I thoughte it profytable, and for the
 same profyte that I doe demaunde it, for
 the same wil I also styl kepe and conserue
 it. And as I haue endeuored my selfe that
 no man should forthinke him of the war
 begun through mine occasion: in like ma-
 ner shal I now enforce my selfe that none
 shall repente of the peace, whiche I shall
 take. His oracion finished, Scipio made
 him there vnto this aunswere.

The aunswere of Scipio to the oracion of
 Anniball, wyth the battayle therevpon had
 betwene them, wherein Anniball was
 vanquished and put to flight.

Capi. lxx.



I knew right well Annibal, that the truce of thy coming home, made the Carthagynenses to breake the truce betwene vs taken, and also to lette all further hope of peace. And this thou doest not denie thy selfe: but thou now withdrawest from vs all thynges that we require, and were also graunted in that treatyse of peace, saue onely those countreys, wherof we haue alredie the possession. Wherefore as thou doest laboure, that thy citezens may fele of what burthen they be discharged by the: so must I trauaile, that noo parte of that, whiche they haue promysed me, shall be nowe withdrawn, for to remaine vnto them as a rewarde of theyr vntrouth, consydering the same theyr vntroeth, hath made theim vnworthye to haue the condycions of peace before to theim offered. Neyther dyd our father fyrst make warre for Sicilia, nor we now for Spaine: But than the dangier, wher in the Samertines oure frendes and felowes were put into and now the destruction of Sagunt, caused vs iustly to make war. That all hath bene by your prouocation,

Non, thou haste confessed thy selfe. The goddis also be witnesses, who gaue suche ende to the firste warre, as of right it behoued to haue. And in this war haue gyven, & I doubt not, but wil giue like end. As for my part, I consider well, bothe the infirmitie of man, and the power of fortune: & I know, that all our actes be subiect to a. M. chaunces: But as I do know ledge that in case thou woldst haue come to desire peace of me before I toke so great trauaile, to come into Affrica, and that thou haddest with thy good wyl departed with thine army out of Italy, if I had the denied thy request, I might wel haue ben iudged, to haue wroughte proudelye and subburnelue: Euen so nowe after that I haue draynen the and thy power home into Affrica, where thou arte redy to make vs resistance: And seying that a peace and truce was ones taken, which ye haue broken, takynge oure shippes wyth force in time of truce, and violating our embassadours, I may right wel with honour, bid you prepare for the warre, sens you could not hold you contented with peace, whan ye had it.

Thus without any agreement of peace,
the

The warres betwene the
the. ii. capytaynes brake of theyr commu-
nicacion, and departed euerye one to hys
company, determining to trie the matter
by battaile and to take suche fortune as
the goddess wolde geue them.

As sone as they were come into theyr
camps, they openly on both partes gaue
commaundemente to theyr soldyours, to
make them redy to fight nowe theyr laste
battaile, whereby in case they dyd over-
come, they shuld haue felicitie, not for one
daye, but for ever. For before the nexte
night, they should know, whether Rome
or Carthage shuld haue the superpozitie.
And that not onely of Italy or of Affrica:
but of all the world, which should be a re-
warde nowe to him, that should haue the
victorye. On the contrary part, the perill
and leoperdy was no lesse declared to that
part, whych shuld haue the worse in this
battaile. For the Romans had no place,
whether to flie, beyng in a straunge coun-
tre. And to Carthage muste nedes come
an vtter destruccion, in case this their last
armie of refuge were vanquished or over-
throwen.

In thys greate leopordie on the nexte
daye the. ii. valiante capitaines of the two
most

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most noble and richest people, sette forth
with their. ii. mightie armies: intending
that daye, eyther to increase the honour,
whiche before they hadde gotten, or els to
be ouerthrowen and lose all. Hope and
feare were myngled bothe together in
their mindes. And when they saw theyr
owne battaile, and the battaile of theyr
enemies: they conceived in theyr mindes
bothe ioye and sorowe. And that that the
souldiours fayled to remember theyr ca-
pitaines declared vnto them, with greate
warninges and exhortacions. Anniball
reherfed to his people all theyr actes done
in Italie: howe many Romaine capita-
nes, and howe manye armies they hadde
slaine. Scipio shewed hys conquestes in
Spaine, and also of late in Affrica, wth
the confession of his ennemyes, that they
for feare were constrained to require
peace althoughe theyr vntrowth woulde
not suffer them to kepe the same, whan
they had it. Wherefore he gessed, that the
goddis had appoynted them to fyghte in
this bataile, with lyke successe, and lucke
as they had whan they foughte at the ple-
of Egates. Now (sayde he) all war & tra-
uaille is at an end. The spoile of carthage
Do. i. 13

is euen at hande, after whyche ye shal res-
tourne home into your countrey, to your
parentes, your wifes, your chyldren,
and your owne goodes. These comforta-
ble wordes he sette forth, wyth such ge-
sture of his body, and meri countenaunce
as though he hadde already hadde the
victorye of his enemyes. Afterwarde
he putte his men in order. Firste, his
spearmen, then his chiefe and moste as-
sured footemen, not in great multitudes
together before anye standerde, but in
small bandes, whyche shoulde be a cer-
taine space distant the one from the o-
ther, to the intent the elephants of their
enemies might come betwene the sayd
bandes, and be receyued of theym: wyth-
out breakyng anye arraye. In these
voyde spaces betwene the sayde bandes,
he appoynted dyuers of his lyghtest har-
nyed souldyours to stande to fulfill the
voyde places, commaundyng them, that
when the Elephantes passed on theym,
they shoulde recule behinde the sayde ban-
des whiche were in array, or els to steppe
in among those that went before the stan-
derdes on the ryghte hande, or on the
lefte hande, geuynge waye to the vnrulye
beastes

beastes to enter amonge his men, where
wyth weapons they myghte be wounded
and ouerthrowen. The lefte wyng ledde
Lelius with the Italian horsemen. The
ryght wyng ledde Massinissa wyth his
Numidians.

Anniball on the other parte, in the fore-
fronte of his battayle, sette his elephan-
tes, whyche were to the number of. lxxx.
After whom he put in order all suche na-
tions as were hyred, or came to his suc-
cour, as Liguriens, Frenchemen, & men
of the Iles called Baleares, nowe called
Maiorque and Minoarque, mingled among
a great numbere of Moores. In the second
battaile he set his Carthaginenses, with
the Affricaines, and the legion of the La-
cedemonians sent thither to the succours
of the Carthaginenses from Phillip king
of Macedonie. And wythin a littell space
of from theym, he placed the Italians,
whyche came with him, when he lefte
that countrey. The winges were of
horsemen. The left wing held the Numi-
dian horsemen. The right wing was of
the Carthaginenses. In this host of Anniball
were manye of diuers nations & countreys
of diuers tynge & languages, they were
also

The warres betwene the

also differente in lawes, armoure, and in apparayle. To euery one of these he gaue sundrye and diuers exhortations, eyther of feare, or of comforte. To such as were come to his succours he promised greater rewarde of the praye, whiche shoulde be wonne by theyr industrie and trauaile. To the Liguriens he promised a plentyfull rewarde of the fertile and pleasaunt fieldes in Italye. The Moors and Numidians he exhorted to do well, for feare least they shoulde els be in greuous seruitude of Massanissa. The Frenchemen were set on by the naturall hatred, which they bare to the Romayns. The Carthaginenses he put in remembrance to fight for the walles of theyr natural countrey for their proper goods, for the sepulchres of their elders, for theyr chyldren, theyr parentes, and trembling wiues. There is no meane waye (sayde he) now to be put betwene hope and feare. For eyther must we suffer miserable seruitude, after the destruction of our cite and countrey, or els obteyne the empyre of al the world. By that time this noble capitaine had finished his wordes, the Romaines blew by their trumpettes and hornes, making

so

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so terrible a noyse and clamoure, that a great numbre of the elephanes beyng furious, turned backe vpon theyr compaignye, specially vpon the left wyng of the Moors and Numidians. Which perceiued well Massanissa, wherefore he also invaded the same wyng wth his horsemen, puttyng them to suche feare, that they fledde, leauing that syde of the hoste bare of succoure. Diuers of the Elephanes by force were constrained to entre the middle battaille, to whom anone the lighte armed souldiours gaue place, sufferyng them to enter amonge them, where they were thruste in with speares and pikes, so that many were there slaine. During this while, Scipio with his horsemen assailed the right wing of the horsemen of Carthage, puttyng them also to flight, so that the body of the hoste was of both sides lefte without defence of horsemen, the winges being chased away: then began the battell of footemen to be strong on both partes. Great were the cries that were there made: but the romaynes were of better courage, of stronger hope and of more strength. Wherefore in a short space they caused their enemies to geue back a certayne

Co. iii.

The warres betwene the
certaine space of ground. And when they
had ones gotten some ground, they with
theyr shieldes and targets came stil thrus-
sing on their enemies, bearing the back
till some tyme after the first battayle, tur-
ning theyr backs, began to flye, & came
to the second battayle of the Carthaginē-
ses and Moors: who woulde not suffer
them to enter, least they shoulde cause all
theyr aray to be broken. Wherefore be-
twene them & their felowes began great
debate and slaughter: so that the Cartha-
ginenses were constrained to fyght, both
with their owne unruly felowes, and al-
so wyth the Romaynes theyr ennemys.
Nevertheless they would in no wyse re-
ceyue theyr felowes that fled in amonge
them least they shoulde mengle that feare
full sorte, which in the flyght were hurte
and wounded, amonge theym that were
earnestly bent to fyght: Whych mighte
haue turned much more to theyr dysplea-
sure. But draving them away by heapes
compelled theym to go together, some in-
to the one syde of theym, some abrode the
fyeldes. Great was the occision that was
made of them, in so muche that the Ro-
maynes coude not come to fyghte wyth
the

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The Carthaginenses: but fyrste they must
with payne go ouer the deade bodyes of
them that were slayne. Then Scipio cau-
sed a trumpet to be blowen, to withdraue
his men of the fyrst battayle, who hadde
bene sore trauayled, and manye of theym
were sore wounded. These caused he to
stand behinde the rerewarde, & made the
same rereward of his best men to auance
forwarde vpon the Carthaginenses. The
began the battayle newe agayne: whiche
was very sore and fierse. For then came
the Romaines to the most assured & stron-
gest men, and most expert in warres, who
before beinge vanquished twyse, were
nowe lothe and ashamed to be vanquished.
But the Romans were farre more in num-
bre, and had taken to theym a great cou-
rage by draving away both the wynges,
and also the forewarde of theyr enne-
mies.

Whyles they thus fought in the seconde
battayle, Lelius and Massaniassa retour-
ned with their horsemen from the chase
of the wynges of the Carthaginēses, and
with all their power and violence came
on the backs of the seconde battayle of
the Carthaginenses whiche were busye
and

The warres betwene the
and valiauntly fought. When were they
not able to endure their violence, but were
wyth force put to flyght and slayne on all
partes. There were that daye slaine and
taken of the Carthaginenses aboute .xl.
M. men. Many Elephantes, and manye
standerds of noble menne were taken in
that battaile. Great also was the pray of
the spoile found in the campe, whiche all
the Romaines toke and brought to theyr
shippes. The Romaines also losse at thys
battel aboute .xl. M. men. Anniball, wyth
a fewe with him, fledde to Adzument.
But he neuer departed from the feild, til
he had both in the battaile and befoze, as
sayed to do as muche as was possible for
to be done, for the safegarde of his people
Wherein he that daye had praise both of
Scipio, & of al other expert men of warre
of the Romaines: specially for y^e orderinge
of his battel. For first he set in y^e forefront
his great number of elephantes, whose
great strenght & intolerable vyolence shuld
breake the array of the romayns, putting
them out of order, which is halfe the win
ning of a battaile. Then set he foremoste
hys hyred souldyours of dyuers nations:
to the entente, suche a confused noum-
b

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 277
ber of strangers (who fought for no great
faith or loue, but onely for money) should
haue no place nor tyme to flee from the
battaile. Also to the intente suche stran-
gers shuld endure the fyrst violence of his
ennemies, makynge them wery & weake,
befoze his chiefe men of most trust should
haue any thinge to do. Then after them
were his Carthaginenses and Africans
his most trustie souldiours. Laste of all a
good space behinde them, he placed hys
Italians, as people whom he knewe not
well, whether they should be his friendes
or his foes. Thus when all his pollyce
wolde not serue him, nor yet his strength
could helpe, he fled (as I sayde befoze) to
Adzument: and from thence he was sente
for to come to Carthage. Whither he
came the. xxxvi. yere after his departynge
from thence, being but a chyld. Wherein
the open assemble of the noble men of the
citie he confessed hym selfe to be van-
quished: and that there was none
other hope of safegarde for
them, but by obteynning
of peace.

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The

The warres betwene the

The condicions of peace graunted to the
Carthaginenses by Scipio: and the rati-
fying of the same by the senate. ca. lxxi

A Scipio and his hoste were
comming to hys shippes, laden
with a riche praye, worde was
brought him that. P. Lentulus
was arrived at Utica, wyth. l. shippes of
warre, and an. C. hulkes laden wyth all
manner of pꝛouision.

Wherefore Scipio, thinkinge, to put the
citie of Carthage in feare on all partes:
Fyrst set Lelius to come, to beare newes
of his victorie: And then sente Cn. Octa-
uius by land toward Carthage, with his
army of horsemen and fotemen. Whiles
he, taking with hym both the newe nauy
of shippes, broughte him by Lentulus,
and also his olde nauie, went by sea from
Utica towardes the haven of Carthage.
He had but a while sailed on the sea, whē
a shippe of Carthage met hym, couered
all with white linnen clothe, and full of
bowes of Olue, in token of peace. In
which shippe were r. embassadours of the
princes of Carthage, sente by the mynde
of Anniball to desyre peace. When
this

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this shippe was come to the fore parte of
Scipios shippe, the couerynge was taken
away, and the legates righte humbly re-
quired him to extend his mercie and pitie
vpon them. But other answere had they
none giuen them, but that they shoulde
come to him to Tunes, for to that place
he said he wold remoue his campe. With
this answere they reparted, and he went
with his nauy of shippes befoze Car-
thage, partly to vie the situation of the
towne, partlye to make the inhabitantes
therof the more afrayde. But after small
soiourning there, he departed fro thence,
and returned to Utica: And from thence
was goynge to Tunes, when sodeyne
newes were brought him, that Clermina
the sonne of Syphax with a great nounce
ber of horsemen & fotemē, was coming to
the soccours of the Carthaginenses. To
encounter with these people, Scipio in-
continent sent a good part of the fotemen
of hys hoste, & all his horsemen, who mee-
ting with them, at theyr fyrste reencoun-
tre put them to flight, and stoppinge the
passages, wherby they myghte by fleynge
escape, they slewe of the Numidians. xv.
M. and toke about xii. C. and with peine
the

the capitaine hym selfe escaped, hauyng a smal number with him. From thence the campe was pitched at Tunes, in the olde place, where they before had set it, Whither came. rrr. noble men of Carthage Embassadors, sente vnto Scipio, who with much more lamentacion then the other hadde done before, required peace of Scipio constrained more therunto through the contrarpetie of Fortune, and by the late ouerthrow of their friend Termina: And they were lyke wyse herde with lesse pittie, because of theyr late vntueth and rebellion. In somuch that it was thought by moste men, that the cite of Carthage might then iustly and worthely be destroyed by them. And so had it ben in dede, had not one thinge specially moued Scipio to the contrary. Which was, that the newe consull was comming thither, whose desyre was, to haue the honour and fame of that victorie, and of finishing that warre, which was before achieved by Scipios traualle, to his great daunger.

And for this cause Scipio and his counsaillours were fully minded to take peace with the Carthaginenses. Wherefore the nexte daye he called the legates of Carthage

thage before him, greatly rebuking them of the vntueth to him diuers times shewed: Mpyllinge them now at the last, being taughte by good experyence, to regarde bothe theyr goodes and theyr othes, and to winge them, that he, hauyng pittie of the destruction of them and of their so noble a citee, was contented to graunte them peace vpon these conditions. First that they shoulde lyue free after their owne lawes and customes, enioyng all such cities and townes in Affrica, as they had in possession before the warre betwene them taken. And that from that day forth the Romaynes shoulde no more destroy or spoyle any parte therof. Agayne the Carthaginenses shoulde restore to the Romans all suche persons as were fled and runne away from the Romans, and all the prisoners of the Romaynes, and their friends, inhome they had in captiuitie.

Also that they shoulde deliuer them all theyr shippes of warre: and other shippes excepte onelye galleys, hauyng there no oars in a pyere. And that they shoulde also deliuer vp all theyr Elephanthes, whiche were alredre tamed and made apte for the warre: neyther shoulde they

The warres betwene the
they after tame anye more. Agayne that
they shoulde moue no warre in Affrica,
no: without Affrica, but by the lycence or
commaundement of the Romayns.

Furthermore, that they should restore
to Massanissa al such thinges as they had
taken of hys, makynge a peace and a-
gremente with him. And also yelde vnto
the Romaine host wheate and wages vnto
the returne of the legates from Rome.
Besides all this, they shuld paye .x. M. ta-
lentes of syluer in fiftie yeres: durynge
whych tyme, they shoulde yearlye paye
that summe, deuyded in even porcyons.
For the paymente whereof, and perfour-
maunce of these condicions, they shoulde
deliuer him an. C. pledges of his owne e-
lection. Wherof none shoulde be vnder
thage of .xiiii. yeres, neither aboue thage
of .xxx. Upon these condicions, he agreed
to geue them truce: so that they wolde de-
lyuer to him out of hande al suche hulkes
or shippes of burthen, with their freghte
and implementes, whiche the Carthagy-
nenses toke from theim, durynge the laste
tyme of truce, that he had before graun-
ted them: or elles they should neither loke
for truce nor peace.

Whan

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Whan the legates were come to Car-
thage, they were commaunded to declare
the same condicions of peace openly be-
fore the congregacion of the people there
vnto assembled. Agaynst the whiche condici-
ons one Bisgo, a noble man of Carthage
spake very sore, and wold haue dissuaded
the people from the takinge of peace. To
whose saynges many of the vnruly mul-
titude gaue good audience. But Annibal
being therewith greatly moued, wente to
him, & with force dreswe him downe from
his place. Whych his violente faction had
not ben vsed before in that citie, and was
thought of dyuers to be contrarie to the
liberty of the citie: where before al peo-
ple had free libertie to speake thei opti-
ons: Annibal beyng vsed to the favour
of the warres, more than to the peaceable
use of the citie: remembryng the libertie
thereof, excused his rudenesse in this ma-
ner. Whan I departed from this citie,
I was but .xx. yeres olde, whych is now
xxxvi. yeres agon: durynge whych tyme
I haue sufficiently knowen and bene in-
structed in al feates of war, being taught
by the chaunces of fortune, euen from
my chyldhoode. Wherfore beyng dyssu-
sed

The warres betwene the
dysfused so longe space from the lawes,
maners, and customes of the cite, al-
though I do forgette the liberties & bles-
thereof, I am the lesse to be blamed.

Thus after he had excused his follye, he
perswaded the people to the takynge of
peace, and howe necessarye it was nowe
for theym, and also howe reasonable the
condicions were, considering their present
estate. To whyche his perswasions the
greatest parte of the multitude agreed,
and the resisters against it, were greatly
blamed. The greatest doubt was, howe
they myght make restitution of that that
was taken from the Romaynes in the
tyme of the truce. For all was spoyled
and gone, neyther knewe they, who had
theym, onelye the shippes and hulkes re-
mained.

But in conclusion, worde was sente a-
gayne to Scipio, by the same legates,
that they woulde receyue his condicions
of peace. And where they could not
knowe, who hadde the goodes that were
in the hulkes, they would paye therefore
at his owne iudgement. The vesselles
and men should be restored.

Thus was the truce geuen to the cite
of

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of Carthage for three monethes, wyth a
commaundement, that during the tyme
of truce, they should sende embassadours
to no place, but onely to Rome. And in
case that anye embassadours were sente
frome anye place to Carthage, that they
should in no wyse depart from thens, un-
till the Romayne capitaine were ascer-
tained what they were, and what was
the cause of theyr comminge.

Soone after went the legates of Car-
thage to Rome: with whom were sente
C. Meturius Philo, M. Martius Ralla,
and Lucius Scipio, brother to P. Scipio
the Romayne capitaine.

When they were come thither, L. Metu-
rius Philo declared, howe Scipio hadde
foughten wyth Anniball, and overcome
the Carthaginenses, to theyr better con-
solation, making nowe an ende of the dole-
full longe warre, that has bene betwene
the Romaynes and theym. And that also
Hermia, the sonne of Syphax, with his
power, was beaten and overcome. Of
whiche newes the senators being mar-
uailous ioyfull, commaunded him to pub-
lyshe the same gladder tidynge to the
hole multitude of the citizens.

Whd making great ioye, gaue thanks
for the victorie to the goddes. Then were
the legates of Carthage brought into the
senate. And when the senators behelde
the age, the dignitie, and the grauitie of
the ambassadours (who were of the most
noble men of the citie of Carthage) then
they iudged, that they intended playnely
and sincerely to entreate of peace.

Among other of these nobles of carthage
there was one Asdruball, called Hedus,
one of the chiefe of them, both in aucto-
ritie and in nobilitie: who was euer de-
syrous of peace, and helde muche agaynst
Anniball and his affinitie. This Asdru-
ball sayde, that a fewe couetous persons
of the citie were culpable for this warre,
and not the comminaltie. Some faultes
whych he were layde to them, he excused:
some other he confessed, least by the deni-
eng of all, he myght be the worse herd of
the senate. Then he perswaded the sena-
tours to vse theyr prosperous fortune
gentilly, and in due temperaunce, profes-
sing euer, that in case the Carthaginen-
ses woulde haue folowed the mindes of
hym, and of Hanno, takynge the tyme
when it was offered: that they had bene
the

the gyuers to other of peace, vppon suche
conditions as they were nowe gladd to
take at others handes. But (sayd he) it is
but selbome seene, that good fortune and
a good minde be geuen bothe at ones to
men. The cause of the conquestes of you
Romaynes euer chiefe hath bene, for
that in prosperity ye haue had the rement
bzaunce to consult of thynges to come.
And youre empyre hath bene moze en-
creased by gentylnes and fauour shewed
to nations, whome ye haue vanquished,
than it hath bene by the victories gotten
of them.

After that Annibal had finished his ora-
tion, the other ambassadours made much
moze lamentable propositions, beway-
linge the miserable fall of the state of the
Carthaginenses, who being the greatest
lordes in honour of the world, yett nowe
constrayned to abyde enclosed within the
walles of the citie, hauing nothing els,
that they myghte claime proprietye of.
Yea, and that same onely citie they helde
but vpon the goodnes and forbearng of
the Romaynes, whyles they pleasure
was, to forbear the bitter destruction
thereof. With these humble and gentill
wordes,

The warres betwene the
wordes, the senators vniuersallye were
fully inclined to peace. When one of the
senators spake oute with loude voyce:
If peace be graunted to the Carthagi-
nenses, by what goddes shal they sweare
and make peace, when they haue broken
promise, & deceiued the goddes, by whom
they sware, whē they last toke peace with
vs: To whom the sayd Asdrubal answer-
ed, euē by the same gods wil we sweare
who be so angry, and are reuenged on vs
that brake our last truse and leage. Here-
upon al the senators and the commons
being inclined to peace, determined, that
by the aduise of .x. legates of Rome. M.
Scipio should make with them the peace
vpon suche conditions as to him seemed
best. The legates were named, & made
them redy to depart with the Carthagy-
nenses. For the which the ambassadours
gaue great thanks to the senate, of their
goodnes to them theiues: desiringe them
before they departed, to licence theym
to entre the citie, and to visite certaine of
their frendes and kinsmen, that were
kept in the citie, as prysoners, whych re-
queste was graunted them. And they de-
sired also, that they might redeme diuers
of

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of them vpon reasonable raunsome. They
were commaunded to wyte the names of
suche as they would haue redeemed. And
they named .ii. C. of theim, who incont-
nente were deliuered to the .x. legates
to take with them into Affrica to Scipio
willing him, in case the peace wente for-
wardes with the carthaginenses, that
then he should render these .ii. c. prysoners
to the Carthaginenses, free without pay-
enge anye raunsome. These thynges be-
inge so concluded, the Carthaginenses,
wyth the Romayne legates, departed to-
wardes Affrica. And when they came to
Scipio, they concluded a peace wyth him
vpon the conditions before spected. The
shippes of carthage, the elephantes, the
fugitiues and prysoners, to the numbre
of .iiii. M. were deliuered to Scipio: a-
monge whom was one Terentius Cul-
leo, a notable senateur of Rome. The
shippes, vpon the deliuerie of them, were
had forth into the sea, to the numbre of .v.
c. of al sortes: and there by the commaund
ment of Scipio, were set al on fyre.
which burninge was as sorrowful a sight
to the carthaginenses, as if they had sene
the whole citie of carthage on fyre.
Scipio

The warres betwene the
Scipio returneth to Rome wyth great
triumphe and ioye of all the peo-
ple. Capit, lxxii.

Thus ended the warres betwene
the Romaynes and the cartha-
ginenses, more gentilly than it
was thoughte it shoulde haue
done. For Scipio diuers times after re-
ported, that the couetous and hygh mind
first of Claudius Nero, and after of Cn.
Cornelius, despyng both the honour of
the victorie of Carthage, was the cause
that the cite of Carthage was not better
lye destroyed and wasted.

After the sayd peace thus taken, the mo-
ney whiche should be presentlye payde to
the Romaynes was very greuous to the
Carthaginenses. Whose stocke and com-
mon substaunce was before greatly wa-
sted by reason of the long continual war-
res. Wherefore at the leuyng of the sayd
summe of theyr priuate substaunce, great
lamentacion and wepinge was made in
the cite. Whiche Anniball beholdyng,
could not forbear to laughe. Whereat
Asdrubal Betus toke great indignation
rebukyng him, for that he (being the be-
re

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 172
re original cause of all theyr sorowe)
in the common mournyng of the cite,
shoulde so laughe. Therunto Anniball
answered: If ye myghte beholde the in-
warde thought of my mynde, as ye maye
the outward apparente countenaunce of
my face, ye shoulde perceyue this laugh-
ter not to come of any ioye of the harte,
but of a madnesse and a frenesye. Ne uer-
thelesse this my laughter is not so inor-
dinate, nor cometh not so out of tyme, as
yours teares do. For you shoulde haue
wepte, when youre armour was taken
fro you, & your ships bourned before your
eyes: & when your liberty of making war-
res with any straunger (but onely by ly-
cense of the Romaynes) was taken from
you, wherein rested your chiefe vndoing
and greatest sal. But ye fele no hurt one-
lesse it touche your priuate wealth.
The great hurte of the common wealth
ye neyther fele nor regarde. When your
enemies had the great spoyle, after the
victory had, and when Carthage remay-
ned alone, and naked without armour or
defence, amonge so manye armed men of
Affrica: then no man wepte nor mour-
ned. But now, when ye must pay the tri-
bute


The warres betwene the
buse of your owne p^{ri}uate goodes, euery
man wepeth, as ye would do at the bury-
eng of al your frēdes. I feare it sore, that
ye shal shortly perceyue, that you wepte
now in your least harmes, and the worst
to be behinde.

When the peace was thus concluded, be-
twene the Romaines and the carthage-
nenses, Scipio callinge his people toge-
ther, besides that he restored vnto Mas-
nissa, his fathers kingdome, he also gaue
him the cite of Cytha, and other tow-
nes and groundes that he had wonne of
Sephthar. Afterward he caused En. Octa-
uius, to deliuer to en. cornelius, the newe
consull, his nauye that he broughte into
Sicilia. Then caused he the embassadoers
of Carthage to go towards Rome, there
to haue all thinges confyrmed by the auc-
toritye of the senate, whych he by the auc-
toritye of the Romaine legates had be-
fore concluded with them.

Thus al thinges being at peace, both by
sea and by lande, he with his armye toke
hyppinge, and sayled ouer into Sicilia,
and from thens into Italye, where he
was met by the mē of the countrey with
great honour and loye: so glad was eue-
ry

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ry man both of peace and of victory. The
pore men of the towne and citie by the
waye as he wente towarde Rome, ranne
forthe to se him, and to prayse him. Thus
in greate honoure came he into Rome,
where he was receiued into the city with
great summes of golde and syluer, of the
prayeres that he had taken, besyde that he
distributed amonge his souldiours. xl. M.
li. And of the conqresse, whych he hadde
made in Affrica he was called Scipio Af-
fricanus euer after, to the great honoure
of all his familie and succession.

Aniball flieth by sea to Antiochus kynge of
Siria, Antiochus moueth warre to the Ro-
maynes, L. Cornelius Scipio sayleth in-
to Asia, fyghteth wth Antiochus,
vanquisheth him, graunteth
him peace vpon condicions
and returneth to Rome.
Cap. lxxiii.

fter the warres thus ended in
Affrica, the Carthaginenses
continued in peace a certayne
season. At the last the enemies
of Aniball to worke him displeasure, sent
word

woorde to Rome to the senate, that Anniball had pryuely sent messangers and letters to Antiochus the kyng of Siria, moving him to warre with the Romaynes. And also that messangers were sent with letters secretly from Antiochus to Hanniball. Certifieng them further, that the mynde of Hanniball was suche, that he could neuer be contented, tyl he harde the sounde of harnets vpon mennes backes. The Romaynes beinge angrye thereat, sent legates thither, C. Serullias, Claudius Marcellus, and Terentius Culleo, to try, whether the informacion to them made, were true or no: Comaundynge the to publishe abrode, that the cause of theyr cominge was: to here and determine certaine matters in controuersy which were betwene the Carthaginenses & the kinge Massanissa, & none other. This tale published by the, was beleued to be true of the common people: But Hannibal therewith could not be blinded, he knewe full well, that he onely was the cause of theyr coming. Wherefore thinkyng for a season to geue place, till the tyme myghte better serue hym, he wyth. ii. other departed out of the cite in the beginning of the night in

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a straungers apparaile, and came to a place, where he before had apointed his horses to mete him and from thence with spede he wente to a castell of his owne by the sea syde, where a ship of Italye awaited for hym, appoynted for the same purpose. In which ship he sailed from Affrica and arriued the same daye in the Ile of Circina, makinge more dole all the waye for the harde chaunces that were happed to his countrepe, then he dydde for his owne euyl fortune. In the haven of Circyna he found many shippes laden wyth marchaundise, and at his landyng, great resorte of people of the ile came vnto him, saluting him, and making of his coming greate ioye. Anniball fearynge, lest some of those shippes in the night should depart from the haven, and shew in Affrica, that they hadde sene hym in Circyna: He deuysed to make a solemne sacrifice, and a great feast, to the whiche he had all the maysters of the shippes that were in the haven, and all the marchauntes that were in the same. And for that y^e weather was very hot (being about the myddes of sommer) he caused al y^e sailes of the ships, wyth the crosse mastes, wherunto y^e sailes he

The warres betwene the
he fastened, to be all brought on lande.
Wherwith he made pavilions and bow-
res, to defende them from the vehemente
heate of the sonne, while they souped on
the shore. The feast was sumptuous, as
the tyme mighte serue thereto, and was
kept very solempnely. There was wyne
great plenty, wherwith many were drun-
ken and heuy headed. The banquette was
also purposely prolonged, tyl it was farre
in the night. Then fell the marchauntes
a slepe, with the maryners also. Whiche
Anniball espynge, thoughte he had then
good time to mocke them, and taking his
shippe, secretly departed, leaunge theim
faste on slepe. On the morowe, when the
maryners arose with heuy heades, they
caried theyr sayles and other tackelinges
agayne to the shippes, preparyng al thin-
ges redy. But as they myghte brynge all
to passe, they spent a good parte of the
nerte daye.

On the morowe after the departinge of
Anniball from Carthage, his friendes,
that vsually resorted to his company, af-
ter that they could not finde him, nor here
of hym, they gathered a greate multitude
of the citie together in the market place,
inquiring,

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Inquyring, if any newes could be shewed
of the chiefe ruler of theyr citie. Some co-
jectured, that he was fled away for feare
of his conspiracie against the Romayns.
Some other sayde, that the Romaynes
had by some craftie traine conspired his
death. Thus byuers were the tales, ac-
cordynge to the opinion of sectes that
were in the citie. Whynge some after
was brought thither, that he was sent at
Circina. When the Romayne legales o-
penly in the senate of Carthage, founde
greate lacke, and blamed greatly the cite-
zens and rulers, for sufferinge him to de-
part, consideringe the priuie letters and
messages that were lentre betwene hym
and Antiochus, sayngs. That he wolde
neuer be satisfied, tyl he had moued war
through all the world. The Carthaginen-
ses excused them selues, affyrmyng, that
they were nothing priuie nor consenting
to his departinge.

Now was Anniball arriued at Tyrus,
where he was receiued honourably, and
with great ioye: and there he sojourned cer-
taine daies. From thence he sayled to An-
tiochus: who was in great doubt before
his comminge, in what maner he should
manage

The warres betwene the
Mayntaine his warres agaynste the Ro-
maines. The kinge was greatly comforted
by the meane of his comynge, & also by
the being ther of the embassadours of the
Etholiens: who the same tyme were de-
parted fro the amitie of the Romans. He
was determined to moue warre, for agre-
woulde he not to certayne condycions of
peace, that the Romayns prescribed vnto
him. Which he thought shuld be greatly
to the losse both of his honour and also of
hys dominions. For they wold haue cau-
sed hym to leaue the possession of certayne
cities, that he had. And also that he shuld
not medle in Grece: but howe and where
he shuld moue this warre, he was not de-
termined. Hanniball was greatly in hys
fauour, & chiefly for that he thought hym
an experte man & a mete counsayloure in
his affaires agaynst the Romaines. Han-
nibal euer was of the opinion, y he shuld
make warre in Italye, for that the coun-
trei of Italy is able to furnish an army of
vytayles and all thynges necessarye, & al-
so of souldiours, if he should haue nede of
men of armes at any tyme. But (sayde he)
yf no warre be moued in Italye, so that
the Romaynes may haue all the holt po-
wer

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 286
wer thereof, to make warre in other re-
gions out of Italy then is there no prince
nor nation of the worlde able to withstand
the Romaynes. Wherefore if ye wyll de-
lyuer vnto me one. C. of thyppes of war,
and. xvi. thousande footemen, wyth one
thousand of horsemen: I wyll with that
power sayle into Africa, trustynge to
cause the Carthaginenses to rebel agaynst
the Romaynes. Or in case they wyll not
follow my request: yet wyll I invade some
parte of Italy, and moue war to the Ro-
maynes. Then maye you (sayde he to the
kyng) with all the reste of youre power,
saile into Europe, keepynge your armye in
Grece, redy to set forwarde as ye se cause

This his counsaile was wel allowed of
the kyng: wherupon one Ariston, an E-
phesien, a wyse and a trusty man, was
chosen to sayle to Carthage, to the friends
of Hanniball, with priue and secret
all tokens by meuthe, whiche they
knewe were true and not fayned, to shew
vnto theym his purpose. For wytyng
durste he sende none, for feare of takynge
of the messangers. His message only was
to be declared vpon credence.
But whyle Ariston went on his message
and

The warres betwene the
and therein hadde no good speede: the am-
bassadours of Rome were come to Ephe-
sus, to know of Antiochus, the cause why
he intended such warre agaynst the Ro-
maynes, among whych ambassadours
it was sayde that. **W** Scipio, called Afica-
nus was one. Whiche ambassadours ha-
ving knowlage, that the king Antiochus
was a lyttel before gone agaynst the Pi-
sidians, and findyng Anniball there: they
dyuers tymes resorted vnto him, and had
familiar communicacion with him: one
lye to the intent to make hym a good opi-
nion of the Romaynes, and not to mys-
truste, that anye thinge was intended by
thein agaynst him. Among other com-
municacion betwene the ambassadours
and Anniball, it is remembred, that Sci-
pio demaunded of hym, whom he iudged
to be the moste noble capitayne, that euer
he knew or heard of, to whome Anniball
answered, that it was Alexander of Ma-
cedony: for that he wyth a small power o-
uercame so manye nations, and vanquy-
shed so manye greate armies in battayle,
traueilling so many straunge and far coun-
treis, whiche passed the power and wytt
of mans compass. Then Scipio demaun-
ded

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bed of hym, whom he iudged to be the se-
conde most noble capitayne. He aunswere-
d Pyrrhus, which was the moste wys
and expert man in placinge his rampes,
in fortifyeng his fortresses with watche
and warde, and in getting the heartes of
men vnto his obeylaunce. In so muche,
that when he warred in Italye, the Ita-
liens were gladder to be vnder his go-
uernance beinge but a straunger, than
vnder the dominion and power of the
Romaynes. Then demaunded Scipio
whom he thought to be the thyrd: **W**ith-
out sayle (sayd he) it is my selfe. At which
aunswere Scipio laughed and sayd:
What wouldest thou then haue sayde, in
case thou haddest ouercome me in battel,
as I haue done the: Truly (sayd Annib-
all) then woulde I haue put my selfe be-
fore both Alexander and Pyrrhus also.
This aunswere seemed to Scipio ver-
straunge and proude, wherby he minded
to take from Scipio all his gloze.
Duringe this longe taryng of the Ro-
mayne legates at Ephesus, nothyng els
was wrought, but that the often meting
and communicacion of them with Anni-
ball, made the kynge more to suspecte
and

The warres betwene the
and mistrust him. Whereupon he was
no more called to his counsaile.

Againe, one Thoas an Etholien, desyr-
ous to haue the kinge, with all hys po-
wer, to arrive in Grece, without parting
of the same his strength, sayde vnto him:
Syr, the great citey Demetrias, and the
more part of all the cities in Grece, loke
dayly for your comming thither. And a-
gainst your arriuayle, ye shall see all the
countrey assemble on the sea syde, so soon
as they maye by watches perceyue youre
nauyes commynge on the sea. And as
touchynge the partynge of your shippes
and power: that I can in no wise allowe
And in case ye were mynded so to do, An-
niball of al men is most bnnmete, to haue
the rule and gouernaunce therof.

First ye must consider (sayd this Thoas)
that Annibal is a Carthaginens, and an
outlawe or banished man fro his cuntrey
Whose crafty witte will imagine a, M.
newe denyfes even as fortune doth vary
or as it shall fall into his brayne. Againe
if it shoulde chaunce, that Anniball lose
his nauye, or his men to be vanquished
the losse will be no lesse, then if any other
capitayne had loste theym. But in case it
shoulde

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shoulde happen him to haue the victorie,
the honour therof shall wholly abyde with
Anniball, and not wyth Antiochus.

Furthermoze, if fortune so well serue
that Anniball vtterlye subdue the Ro-
maynes, what wyll ye than thinke, that
he will continue in youre subiection,
whiche in his countrey coulde not suffer
him selfe to be in any obedience? Saye,
(sayde he) he that in his youth, hath euer
coueted in his minde, to be emperoure of
the hole world, will nowe in age neuer be
contented, to be vnder the rule of anye o-
ther if he may chose. Wherefore my coun-
saile is, that ye haue no nede to make
Annibal your capitaine: But if it please
you ye may vse his company as your friend
in your iournei taking his aduise in your
affaires, as a prudente counsaylour, and
none otherwyse. This craftye & vntrew
counsaile of Thoas, tourned the kynges
minde cleane from sendinge of Anniball
wyth any army into Affrica: whych he
fore was thought most mete & necessary.
Wherfor he prepared to saile into Grece,
where by the helpe of the Etholiens he
wanne certayne cities. At the last the con-
sul M. Attilius with an army of Romas
came to the socours of theyr frendes, and

The warres betwene the
and mistrust him. **W**hereupon he was
no more called to his counsaile.

Againe, one **Thoas** an **Etholien**, desyr-
ous to haue the kinge, with all his po-
wer, to arriue in Grece, without parting
of the same his strength, sayde vnto him:
Sir, the great citie **Demetrias**, and the
more part of all the cities in Grece, loke
payly for your comming thither. And a-
gainst your arriuale, ye shall see all the
countrey assemble on the sea syde, so sone
as they maye by watches perceyue youre
nauyes commynge on the sea. And as
touchynge the partynge of your shippes
and power: that I can in no wise allowe.
And in case ye were mynded so to do, **An-**
niball of al men is most bnnete, to haue
the rule and gouernaunce therof.

Fyrst ye must consider (sayd this **Thoas**)
that **Annibal** is a **Carthaginens**, and an
outlawe or banished man fro his cuntrey.
Whose crafty witte will imagine a, **M.**
newe denyses euen as fortune doth vary
or as it shall fall into his brayne. Againe
if it shoulde chaunce, that **Annibal** lose
his nauye, or his men to be vanquished
the losse will be no lesse, then if any other
capitayne had loste theym. But in case it
shoulde

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shoulde happen him to haue the victorie,
the honour therof shall wholly abyde with
Annibal, and not wyth **Antiochus**.

Furthermore, if fortune so well serue
that **Annibal** bitterlye subdue the **Ro-**
maynes, what wyll ye than thinke, that
he will continue in youre subiection,
whiche in his countrey coulde not suffer
him selfe to be in any obedience? **S**aye,
(saye he) he that in his youth hath euer
coueted in his minde, to be emperoure of
the hole world, will nowe in age neuer be
contented, to be vnder the rule of anye o-
ther if he may chose. **W**herefore my coun-
saile is, that ye haue no nede to make
Annibal your capitaine: But if it please
you ye may vse his cōpany as your friend
in your iournei taking his aduise in your
affaires, as a prudence counsaylour, and
none other wyse. **T**his craftye & vntrewe
counsaille of **Thoas**, tourned the kynges
minde cleane from sendinge of **Annibal**
wyth any army into **Affrica**: whiche be-
fore was thought most mete & necessary.
wherfor he prepared to saile into Grece,
where by the helpe of the **Etholiens** he
wanne certayne cities. At the last the con-
sul **M. Atillius** with an army of **Romans**
came to the socours of theyr frendes, and

The warres betwene the

at the greate mountayne whiche passeth through the middle of Greece, foughte wyth Antiochus, and put him to flyght, slepeng al his hoste, excepte onely v. hundred which fled wyth the king.

¶ After whiche discomfiture, Antiochus with Anniball, and his smal numbze of men that were left him at the battayle, came to the sea, & toke shipping & came to Ephesus, where he remayned, thinking him selfe there to be sure out of the daunger of the Romayns. And that he was perswaded to beleue, by many that were aboute him, gladd to please his minde: as many such dissemblers haue bene and shal be dayly about great prynces. But onely Annibal aduysed the kynge, to prepare for the commyng of the Romaynes sayeng that he maruailed moze, that they were not alreadye arryued, rather than they commyng might be loked for. Shewing hym also, that the Romayns were as stronge and valyaunt vpon the sea, as on the land. Not doubtinge but thortelye they would stryue for the dominion of Asia, and that eyther he muste take frome them their empire, or els he shoulde be in daunger to lose his kingdome. For he knewe

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knewe, they desyre was to be rulers ouer al the world, Coulsayling him to loke for none other thing at theyr handes.

For in case he dyd, he shoulde deceyue himselfe with his vaine and false hope.

¶ Not longe after this beginning of the warres in Greece, L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Lelius were chosen consules.

After whiche election, P. Scipio Africanus offered the senate, that in case they would graunt his brother, L. Scipio the countrey of Greece for his prouince: he would gladlye take the payne to go wyth him in his iourney. Whereunto the senate agreed, geuyng him also further auctorite, to go into Asia, if he thoughte it expedient, sayinge, they would not be proue, whether Antiochus shuld be moze holpe by the counsaile of Annibal, which was befoze vanquished: or the Romayne consull and his army by the helpe of Scipio, that had befoze made the greate conqueste in Africa. The armies & shippes were made readye, & the consull arryued in Grece where sone receyuing many the rebel cities into his handes, he fro thence sayled into Asia: where by the licence of the king Philip, he had passage through the

The warres betwene the
Macedony and Thrace, to the kingdome
of Antiochus.

Diuers battayles were fought vpon the
sea, betwene the Romayne nauy and Pa-
lirénidas, capitayne of the kynges shypps
but euer the Romaynes had the victorie
by the helpe of the kinge Eunenes, and
also of the Rhodiens. At the last it chaun-
ced, that the sonne of Scipio Africanus
was taken prisoner, and brought to An-
tiochus, who kepte him honorablye and
gentilly. And afterward, trusting to haue
the frendshyppe of Pub. Scipio, and his
helpe, for a peace to be made betwene the
Romaynes and him: he sente hym home
his sonne, withoute payenge anye ran-
sone for him. For whē he perceyued the
Romaynes to appoche neere vnto hym,
he thoughte it better to common of peace
before the battayle, then after, trustinge
to haue more easye conditions of peace,
if it were moued in tyme. But when the
matter came in communication, betwene
the Consull and the kynges embassa-
doites, the condicions of the peate were
so sore that Antiochus refused to take
them although he were thereunto per-
suaded by the letters of Pub. Scipio the
affricane.

Romaynes and the Carthaginenses. 150
Affricane. Wherevppon bothe partyes
prepared them to fighte. The battayle
was cruel, but at the last the kyng Antio-
chus was put to flight, & .iiii. D. of his
footemen slayne, and of horsemen. iiii. D.
besydes. i. D. and. iiii. C. that were taken
prysoners, wyth small losse of the Ro-
maynes. Then sente Antiochus eftsones
his embassadoars to the consull for peace:
whiche at lengthe, by meanes of. P. Sci-
pio Africanus, was graunted him, vpon
these condicions.


Fyrste that he should from thense forth
no moze make war in Europe. Also that
he should leaue the possessyons of all the
cittyes landes and countreyes, whiche
were on that syde the mountayne, cal-
led Taurus. Agayne, he shoulde paye
the Romaynes systene thousande talen-
tes in .xii. yeares, and to paye vnto king
Eunenes .iiii. hundred talentes, and a
greate quantytye of wheate. Vppon
these condicions he should haue peace.
Prouyded that Hanniball, the authour
of this warre, wyth Thoas, and diuerse
other cappytaynes & counsaylours, mighte
be deliuered vnto him.
The kyng, beyng at this extreme mis-
chefe,

The warres betwene the
chiese, receiued the peace vppon the sayde
condicions: and put in for the persour-
maunce thereof pledges. The same peace
also was after that confirmed by the se-
nate of Rome.

And so all thynges thus prosperouslye
brought to passe. L. Scipio the consull re-
toured to Rome, who was receyued in-
to the cite with greate honoure and tri-
umphe. And as his brother, of his victo-
ry in Affrica was named affricanus: so was
he of his conquestes in Asia, called Asiati-
cus, to the honoure of hys succession euer
after.

Annibal flieth to Prusias, the kynge of By-
thinia, and how he ended hys lyfe.

Cap. lxxiii.

 Annibal, after the bataill begon
betwene the Romayns & Anti-
ochus, wherein he was vanqui-
shed and fledde mistrustynge (as
it folowed after) that the kinge of necessi-
tie muste be dyuen to take peace, in whi-
che he feared, lest the Romaynes, bea-
rynge to hym mostall mallice, wolde re-
quyre his deliuey: thought to prouide for
hym

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hym selfe in tyme.

Wherfore he incontinent fled to Prusias
then kynge of Bythinia. He had not longe
taryed there, but that. L. Quintius Fla-
minius was sent from Rome to the king
shewing him, that the senatours thought
he dealte not fryendly wyth them, to kepe
in his realme they: great and capytal en-
nemy Annibal: a man that made first his
owne countrey to make war with them,
to the vtter vndoinge of the same, and
from thence came to antiochus, and was
autooure also of hys warre wyth the Ro-
mayns, and now was repayred vnto him
which he thought wold tourne to his vn-
doinge. Prusias, wyllynge to gratifye
the Romaines: deuyfed, either to see him
or els to take and deliuer hym to Flami-
nius. Wherewith vppon incontinente the ser-
uauntes of the kynge, and also of Flami-
nius. beset the house of Annibal rounde
about, so that he could no way issue oute.
Annibal, foreseeinge the hatred that the
Romains bare hym, and the smal saythe
of prynces: specially the lyghtnes of Pru-
sias: He therfore, thinkinge to haue some
waye to flie daunger, if nede requyred,
hadde deuyfed. vii. wayes and entrees in-
to

The warres betwene the
to his house. Wherof certayne were very
secrete and priue. But the number was
so greate of men of armes, whyche were
about his house and the watch so straight
ly kept by the kynges commaundement,
that where so euer he offered to issue, he
he espyde embushments of harneyed men.
When seynge his tyme of death to drawe
nere, he called for poyson, whyche he
long time had kepte with him, and had e-
uer redie for suche chaunces, and sayde:
Nowe wyll I deliuer the Romaynes of
greate thought, that they haue long time
taken, to bryng me to confusyon. For al-
thoughe I be nowe olde, yet they thinke
it longe before I dye. But of this deathe,
bothe they and Flaminys theyr legate
shal haue smal victorie. The blanning the
detestable falshe of Drustas, that so cru-
elly wold suffer the murther of his friend
whome he had receyued into his keepyng:
He drunke the impoysoned drinke, and
sone after dyed.

This was the lamentable ende of the
right wyse, noble, and valiaunt capitaine
Hanniball, in a strange region, exiled &
banyshe from his owne native countrey.
Aboute whyche tyme or not longer be-
fore,

Romaynes and the Carthaginensis. 298
fore, the worthy Romaine Scipio Affrica
also dyed: tohom the Romayns, after his
manifolde benefites to them shewed, re-
compenced wyth detestable ingratitude,
certaine of the city being his enemies (as
no man in auctorite can escape enuye)
charged hym wyth y old matier, betwene
Pleminius and the Locrenses. Wherein
(they sayde) he beinge consul was corrup-
ted with money. And therefore ministred
not iustice. Againe they laide against him
the deluery of his sonne, being prysoner
with Antiochus, wythoute raunsome:
whiche they thoughte was verie suspicy-
ous. For these small causes was he cal-
led before the Senate, & as though he had
ben a meane person, put to answer with
extrimite: without fauoure, or haupnge
anye respecte to hys noble actes, done
for the common weale. Whyche ingraty-
tude he toke so displeasante, that depar-
ting out of the court, he wet into the coun-
treys, to the towne of Lytarne, where he
dwelled as long as he lyued, exilinge him-
selfe from Rome for euer. And at hys
death, he commaunded his body to be bu-
ried there also: that his bones mighte not
rest in his unkinde countrey.

Thus

The warres betwene the

Thus were. ii. of the worthiest cities of
the worlde founde vnkinde to their noble
rulers and capitaynes, and bothe aboute
one time. Carthage banyshe Anniball,
after that he was vanquished. Rome
exiled Scipio, that had vanquished
all her ennemies. Wherin she
was of the twane more to
be blamed of ingrati-
tude.

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